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MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.*

Good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves'

(*Sir H Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling, 9-11-1907*)

But this I do say that political principles are, after all, the root of our national greatness, strength and hope'

(*Mr John Morley, King's Hall, Holborn, 4-6-1907*)

"But if you meddle wrongly with economic things, gentlemen, be very sure you are then going to the very life, to the heart, to the core of your national existence"

(*Free Trade Hall Manchester, 19-10-1903*)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you most sincerely for honouring me for the third time with the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. I hope I shall have your cordial help and support.

I may here express my deep sorrow at the loss India has suffered in the deaths of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Justice Budrudin Tyabji, Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, and Mr. Veeraraghavachariar.

I offer my sincere thanks to the "Parliament Branch of the United Irish League", the Breakfast Meeting, the North Lambeth Liberal and Radical Club and the National Democratic League for their enthusiastic and cordial God-speed to me.

This is the first Congress after its having come of age. It is time that we should carefully consider what the position of the Indians is at present and what their future should be.

In considering this important matter, I do not intend to repeat my lamentations over the past—I want only to look to the future.

* Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1906.

The Boer war cost Britain more than two hundred millions and 20,000 dead and 20,000 wounded. India, on the other hand, has enriched Britain instead of costing anything—and the blood that was shed was largely Indian blood, and yet this is a strange contrast. The Boers have already obtained self-government in a few years after conquest, while India has not yet received self-government, though it is more than 200 years from the commencement of the political connection.

All honour and glory to the British instincts and principles and to the British statesmen of the 17th century. The Liberals of the present day and the Liberal Government have every right to be proud of those "old principles," and now that a happy and blessed revival of those sacred old principles has taken place, the present Government ought fairly to be expected to act upon those old principles, and to acknowledge and give effect to the birthright of Indians as "if living and born in England". England is bound to do this. Our British rights are beyond all question. Every British Indian subject has franchise in England as a matter of course, and even to become a Member of Parliament. Nobody in England dreams of objecting to it. Once in my case, from party motives, an objection was suggested to entering my name on the register as an elector, and the revising barrister at once brushed aside the objection, for that, as an Indian, I was a British citizen.

Reason II.—Pledged Rights.

The grant to the first East India Company cited in Reason I is both a declaration of the rights of Indians as British citizens as well as a pledge of those rights by that declaration.

Queen Victoria, in her letter to Lord Derby, asking him to write the Proclamation himself, said :—

And point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown and prosperity flowing in the train of civilization.

Thereupon the Proclamation then declared and pledged unreservedly and most solemnly calling God to witness and bless :

We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which binds us to our other subjects, and these obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil

Can there be a more sacred and solemn pledge before God and Man !

On the occasion of the Proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, she sent a telegram to Lord Lytton which he read in the open Durbar consisting of both Princes and people. In this telegram the Queen-Empress said :

That from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under our rule, the great principles of liberty, equity and justice are secured to them, and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity and advance their welfare are ever present aims and objects of our Empire.

And it is clear that this object of promoting our happiness, etc., etc., can only be attained by our enjoyment of the principles of liberty, equity and justice, *i. e.*, we must have the British liberty of governing ourselves.

On the occasion of the Jubilee of 1887 the Queen-Empress again pledged and emphasised the pledges of the Proclamation, thus :—

Allusion is made to the Proclamation issued on the occasion of my assumption of the direct government of India as the Charter of the liberties of the Princes and people of India It has always been and will continue to be my earnest desire that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswervingly maintained.

We are now asking nothing more or less than the liberties of our Charter,—our rights of British citizenship.

The present King-Emperor has pledged :—

I shall endeavour to follow the great example of the first Queen-Empress to work for the general well-being of my Indian subjects of all ranks.

Again the King-Emperor in his speech on 19th February, 1906, said :—

ment—Civil or Military or Naval—to the extent of that share should Indians share in all the benefits of that expenditure in salaries, pensions, emoluments, etc., materials, etc., as a partner in the Empire as she is always declared to be. We do not ask any favours. We want only justice. Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our rights as British citizens, the whole matter can be comprised in one word—"Self-government" or *Swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies.

Mr. Morley says very truly and emphatically (Banquet. King's Hall, Holborn, 4th June, 1901):—

> But this I do say, that political principles are, after all, the root of our national greatness, strength and hope.

So for India also there can be no national greatness, strength and hope except by the right political principles of self-government.

Now the next important question is whether it is practicable to grant these rights of self-government at once or when and in what way? Nobody would, I think, say that the whole present machinery can be suddenly broken up at once, and the rights which I have defined of self-government can be at once introduced.

Taking Right No. 1, of placing all administration in every department in the hands of the people of India, has the time arrived to do anything loyally, faithfully and systematically as a beginning at once, so that it may automatically develop into the full realisation of the right of self-government?

I say,—yes. Not only has the time fully arrived, but had arrived long past, to make this beginning. The statesmen of nearly three-quarters of a century ago not only considered the point of making a beginning, not merely made a pious declaration, but they actually passed an Act of Parliament for the purpose. Had that Act been honourably and faithfully fulfilled by the Governments from that time

to this, both England and India would have been in the position, not of bewailing the present poverty, wretchedness and dissatisfaction of the Indian people, but of rejoicing in the prosperity of India and of the still greater prosperity of England herself.

In the thirties of the last century England achieved the highest glory of civilization by its emancipations of the body and soul of man by abolishing slavery and by freedom of conscience to enjoy all the rights of British citizenship. During those glorious days of English history, the statesmen of the time did not forget their duty to the people of India. They specially and openly considered the question of self-government of India, not only in connection with Britain, but even with the result of entire independence from Britain. When the Act of 1833 was passed, Macaulay made that memorable speech about the duty of Britain towards India of which Britain shall for ever be proud. I cannot quote that whole speech here. Every word of it is worth study and consideration from the statesmen of the day. I shall give only a few extracts. He first said: "I must say that, to the last day of my life I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause" . . . "It would be on the most selfish view of the case far better for us that the people of India were well-governed and independent of us than ill-governed and subject to us. ". . . . We shall never consent to administer the pousta (a preparation of opium) to a whole community—to stupefy and paralyse a great people, whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control". . . . "We are free; we are civilized, to little purpose if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization". . . . "I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us, and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour". . . . "To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and

superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own".

Such was the glorious spirit in and the auspices under which was enacted Macaulay's words "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause :—"

> That no native of the said territory, nor any natural born subjects of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company.

I would not repeat here what I have often stated about this clause. Sufficient to say that simultaneous examintions in India have been declared authoritatively as the only honourable fulfilment of the clause.

Here is then the beginning that can be made at once, not as a new thing but as one fully considered and settled by Act of Parliament 73 years ago. The power is ready in the hands of the Secretary of State for India to be put into execution at once without the necessity of any reference to Parliament or any authority.

And in connection with this step. I would earnestly urge upon the Secretary of State to retrace the pernicious step which has lately been taken in India of abolishing competition for the services to which admission is made directly in India. In England competition is the basis of all first admissions in all the services, and the same must be the basis in India as the fairest and the most in accordance with justice.

This beginning will be the key, the most effective remedy for the chief economic and basic evil of the present system.

Mr. Morley has truly said :—"But if you meddle wrongly with economic things, gentlemen, be very sure you are then going to the very life, the heart, to the core of your national existence".

And so the economic muddle of the existing policy is going to the life, to the heart, to the core of our national existence. A threefold wrong is inflicted upon us, *i.e.*, of depriving us of wealth, work and wisdom, of everything, in short, worth living for. And this beginning will begin to strike at the root of the muddle. The reform of the alteration of the services from European to Indian is the keynote of the whole.

On the score of efficiency also, foreign service can never be efficient or sufficient. Sir William Hunter has said :— "If we are to govern the Indian people efficiently and cheaply we must govern them by means of themselves". The Duke of Devonshire, as Indian Secretary, has said (23rd August, 1883) : "There can, in my opinion, be very little doubt that India is insufficiently governed". In the very nature of things it cannot be otherwise.

After the simultaneous examinations are carried on for some years, it will be time to transfer the examinations altogether to India to complete the accomplishment of the rights (No. 1) of self-government without any disturbance in the smooth working of the administration

Co-ordinately with this important beginning for Right No 1, it is urgent to expedite this object that education must be most vigorously disseminated among the people—free and compulsory primary education, and free higher education of every kind. The Indian people will hail with the greatest satisfaction any amount of expenditure for the purpose of education. It was free education that I had at the expense of the people that made me and others of my fellow-students and subsequent fellow-workers to give their best to the service of the people for the promotion of their welfare.

Education on the one hand, and actual training in administration on the other hand, will bring the accomplishment of self-government far more speedily than many imagine.

Heavy expenditure should be no excuse. In fact, if financial justice, to which I shall refer hereafter, is done in the relations between England and India, there will be ample provision even from the poor revenues of India—and with every addition of Indians in place of Europeans, the resources of India for all necessary purposes will go on increasing.

RIGHT NO. 2.—REPRESENTATION.

In England itself Parliamentary government existed for some hundreds of years before even the rich and middle classes and the mass of the people had any voice or vote in it.

Macaulay pointed out in 1831 that the people living in the magnificent palaces surrounding Regent's Park and in other such places were unrepresented. It is only so late as 1832 that the middle classes obtained their votes; and it is only so late as 1885 that most of the mass of the people obtained their franchise. Women have no vote. Adult franchise is yet in struggle.

It is no use telling us, therefore, that a good beginning cannot be made now in India for what Mr. Gladstone called 'living representation". The only thing needed is the willingness of the Government. The statesmen at the helm of the present government are quite competent and able to make a good beginning—such a systematic beginning as that it may naturally in no long time develop itself into full legislatures of self-government like those of the self-governing colonies. I need not go into any details here of the scope and possibilities of representation. The educated and thinking classes in India who have attended English schools and colleges are not the only people to be reckoned with. There is a large body who now are informed of the events of the world and of all British institutions by the vernacular press and literature in their own language.

The peasants of Russia are fit for and obtained the Duma from the greatest autocrat in the world, and the leading statesman, the Prime Minister of the free British

Empire, proclaimed to the world "The Duma is dead! Long live the Duma"! Surely the fellow-citizens of that statesman and the free citizens of that Empire by birthright and pledged rights are far more entitled to self-government, a constitutional representative system, than the peasants of Russia. I do not despair. It is futile to tell me that we must wait till all the people are ready. The British people did not so wait for their Parliament. We are not allowed to be fit for 150 years. We can never be fit till we actually undertake the work and the responsibility. While China in the East and Persia in the West of Asia are awakening and Japan has already awakened and Russia is struggling for emancipation—and all of them despotisms—can the free citizens of the British Indian Empire continue to remain subject to despotism—the people who were among the first civilizers of the world? Modern world owes no little gratitude to these early civilizers of the human race. Are the descendants of the earliest civilizers to remain, in the present times of spreading emancipation, under the barbarous system of despotism, unworthy of British instincts, principles and civilization.

RIGHT NO. 3.—JUST FINANCIAL RELATIONS.

This right requires no delay or training. If the British Government wills to do what is just and right, this justice towards self-government can be done at once.

First of all take the European Army expenditure. The Government of India in its despatch of 25th March 1890, says:—

Millions of money have been spent on increasing the army in India, on armaments, and on fortifications to provide for the security of India, not against domestic enemies or to prevent the invasions of the warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British Power in the East.

Again the Government of India says:

It would be much nearer the truth to affirm that the Imperial Government keeps in India and quarters upon the revenues of that country as large a portion of its army as it thinks can possibly be required to

maintain its dominion there; that it habitually treats that portion of its army as a reserve force available for imperial purposes, that it has uniformly detached European regiments from the garrison of India to take part in imperial wars whenever it has been found necessary or convenient to do so, and more than this, that it has drawn not less freely upon the native army of India towards the maintenance of which it contributes nothing to aid it in contests outside of India and with which the Indian Government has had little or no concern.

Such is the testimony of the Government of India that the European Army is for Imperial purposes.

Now I give the view taken in the India Office itself.

Sir James Peile was a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and represented the Indian Secretary on the Royal Commission (Welby's) on Indian expenditure. Sir James Peile in a motion, after pointing out that the military policy which regulated Indian Military expenditure was not exclusively Indian, urged that:

It is worthy of consideration how far it is equitable to charge on a dependency the whole military cost of that policy, when that dependency happens to be the only part of the Empire which has a land frontier adjacent to the territory of a great European power.

Here then these extracts of the Government of India and the India Office show that the European Army expenditure is entirely for British Imperial purposes, and yet with flagrant injustice the burden is thrown by the Treasury upon the helpless Indian people.

In the same way all the Government expenditure in England, which entirely goes to the benefit of the people in England, and which is for British purposes, is imposed on the Indian people, while the Colonies do not pay any portion for similar expenditure in England. This expenditure should, in common justice, not be imposed on India. It is unjust. Here then, if we are relieved of burdens which ought not in common justice to be imposed upon us, our revenues, poor as they are at present, will supply ample means for education and many other reforms and improvements which are needed by us. This question is simply a matter of financial justice. I have put it on a clear, just principle, and on that principle

India can be quite ready to find the money and its own men for all her own needs—military, naval, civil or any other. For imperial expenditure we must have our share in the services in proportion to our contribution.

These just financial relations can be established at once. They require no delay or preparation. It only needs the determination and will of the British Government to do justice. Lastly as to self-government. If the British people and statesmen make up their mind to do their duty towards the Indian people they have every ability and statesmanship to devise means to accord self-government within no distant time. If there is the will and the conscience there is the way.

Now I come to the most crucial question—particularly crucial to myself personally.

I have been for some time past repeatedly asked whether I really have, after more than half a century of my own personal experience, such confidence in the honour and good faith of British statesmen and Government as to expect that our just claim to self-government as British citizens will be willingly and gracefully accorded to us with every honest effort in their power, leaving alone and forgetting the past.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall give you a full and free answer.

In 1853, when I made my first little speech at the inauguration of the Bombay Association, in perfect innocence of heart, influenced by my English education into great admiration for the character, instincts and struggles for liberty of the British people, I expressed my faith and confidence in the British Rulers in a short speech from which I give a short extract :—

When we see that our Government is often ready to assist us in everything calculated to benefit us, we had better than merely complain and grumble, point out in a becoming manner what our real wants are.

And I also said :

If an Association like this be always in readiness to ascertain by strict enquiries the probable good or bad effects of any proposed measure, and whenever necessary to memorialise Government on behalf of the people with respect to them, our kind Government will not refuse to listen to such memorials

Such was my faith. It was this faith of the educated of the time that made Sir Bartle Frere make the remark which Mr. Fawcett quoted, viz., that he had been much struck with the fact that the ablest exponents of English policy and our best coadjutors in adapting that policy to the wants of the various nations occupying Indian soil were to be found among the natives who had received a high class English education. And now, owing to the non-fulfilment of solemn pledges, what a change has taken place in the mind of the educated !

Since my early efforts I must say that I have felt so many disappointments as would be sufficient to break any heart and lead one to despair and even, I am afraid, to rebel.

My disappointments have not been of the ordinary kind but far worse and keener ; ordinarily a person fights, and if he fails he is disappointed. But I fought and *won* on several occasions, but the executive did not let us have the fruit of those victories—disappointments quite enough, as I have said, to break one's heart. For instance, the "statutory" Civil Service, Simultaneous Examinations, Lord Lawrence Scholarships, Royal Commission, etc. I am thankful that the repayment from the Treasury of some unjust charges has been carried out, though the Indian Secretary's salary is not yet transferred to the Treasury as it was hoped.

But I have not despaired. Not only that I have not despaired, but at this moment, you may think it strange, I stand before you with hopefulness. I have not despaired for one reason and I am hopeful for another reason.

I have not despaired under the influence of the good English word which has been the rule of my life. That

word is "Persevere." In any movement, great or small, you must persevere to the end. You cannot stop at any stage, disappointments notwithstanding, or you lose all you have gained and find it far more difficult afterwards even to begin again. As we proceed we may adopt such means as may be suitable at every stage, but persevere we must to *the end*. If our cause is good and just, as it is, we are sure to triumph in the end. So I have not despaired.

Now the reason of my hopefulness which I feel at this moment after all my disappointments, and this also under the influence of one word "Revival," the present "revival" of the true old spirit and instinct of liberty and free British institutions in the hearts of the leading statesmen of the day. I shall now place before you the declarations of some of the leading statesmen of the day, and then you will judge that my faith and hope are well founded, whether they will be justified or not by future events.

Here I give you a few of these declarations, but I give an Appendix A of some of these declarations out of many.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

We believe in self-government. We treat it not as an odious necessity, not as a foolish theory to which unfortunately the British Empire is committed. We treat it as a blessing and as a healing, a sobering and strengthening influence.

[Bradford, 15-5-1901.]

I remain as firm a believer as ever I was in the virtue of self-government.

[Ayr, 29-10-1902].

But here is another self-government and popular control, and we believe in that principle.

MR. JOHN MORLEY.

Yes, gentlemen, the sacred word 'free' which represented, as Englishmen have always thought until to-day, the noblest aspirations that can animate the breast of man.

[Palmerston Club, 9-6-1900.]

In his view the root of good government was not to be found in bureaucracy or pedantocracy. They must seek to rouse up the free and spontaneous elements lying deep in the hearts and minds of the people of the country.

[Arbroath, 23-10-1903.]

The study of the present revival of the spirit, instincts and traditions of Liberty and Liberalism among the Liberal statesmen of the day has produced in my heart full expectation that the end of the evil system, and the dawn of a Righteous and Liberal policy of freedom and self-government are at hand for India. I trust that I am justified in my expectations and hopefulness.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have not only all the powerful moral forces of justice, righteousness and honour of Britain, but our birthright and pledged rights, and the absolute necessity and humanity of ending quickly all the sufferings of the masses of the people, from poverty, famine, plagues, destitution and degradation, etc., on our side. If we use those moral forces, which are very effective on a people like the British people, we must, we are bound to win. What is wanted for us is to learn the lesson from Englishmen themselves, to agitate most largely and most perseveringly by petitions, demonstrations and meetings, all quite peacefully but enthusiastically conducted. Let us not throw away our rights and moral forces which are so overwhelming on our side. I shall say something again on this subject.

With such very hopeful and promising views and declarations of some of the leaders of the present Government, we have also coming to our side, more and more, Parliament, Press and Platform. We have some 200 members in the Indian Parliamentary Committee. The Labour Members, the Irish Nationalist Members, and the Radicals are sympathetic with us. We have several Liberal papers such as *The Daily News*, *The Tribune*, *The Morning Leader*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Star*, *The Daily Chronicle*, *Justice*, *Investors' Review*, *Reynolds*, *New Age*, and several others taking a juster view of India's rights and needs. We must make *India* a powerful organ. We have all sections of the Labour or Democratic Party, the British Nationalist Party, the Radicals and Liberals generally, taking larger interest in Indian matters. The large section of the British people

to whom conscience and righteousness are above every possible worldly thing, are also awakening to a sense of their duty to the vast population of India in their dire distress and poverty, with all its dreadful consequences. When I was in Parliament and the only Indian, I had the support of the Irish, Radical and Labour Members. I never felt helpless and alone, and I succeeded in several of my efforts. We must have many Indian Members in Parliament till we get self-government. Under such favourable circumstances let us not fail to make the most of our opportunity for our political emancipation. Let us, it is true, at the same time do what is in our power to advance our social and industrial progress. But for our political emancipation, it will be a great folly and misfortune for us to miss this good fortune when it has at last come to us, though I fully admit we had enough of disappointments to make us lose heart and confidence.

I base my hope upon the "revival" of the old British love of liberty and self-government, of honour for pledges, of our rights of fellow-British citizenship. In the short life that may yet be vouchsafed to me, I hope to see a loyal, honest, honourable and conscientious adoption of the policy for self-government for India—and a beginning made at once towards that end.

I have now expressed to you my hopes and reasons for such hopes for ourselves. But as the Moral Law, the greatest force of the Universe, has it,—in our good will be England's own greatest good. Bright has wisely said:—"The good of England must come through the channels of the good of India... ..In order that England may become rich India itself must become rich". Mr. Morley has rightly said:—"No, gentlemen, every single right thing that is done by the Legislature, however moderate be its area, every single right thing is sure to lead to the doing of a greater number of unforeseen right things". (Dundee, 9-12-1889). If India is allowed to be prosperous by self-government, as

the Colonies have become prosperous by self-government, what a vista of glory and benefits open up for the citizens of the British Empire, and for mankind, as an example and proof of the supremacy of the moral law.

While we put the duty of leading us on to self-government in the hands of the present British statesmen, we have also the duty upon ourselves to do all we can to support those statesmen by, on the one hand, preparing our Indian people for the right understanding, exercise and enjoyment of self-government, and on the other hand of convincing British people that we justly claim and must have all British Rights. I put before the Congress my suggestions for their consideration. To put the matter in the right form we should send our "Petition for Rights" to His Majesty the King-Emperor, to the House of Commons and to the House of Lords. By the British Bill of Rights of 1689—by the 5th Clause "The subjects have the right to present petitions to the Sovereign".

The next thing I suggest for your consideration is that the well-to-do Indians should raise a large fund of Patriotism. With this fund we should organise a body of able men and good speakers, to go to all the nooks and corners of India, and inform the people in their own languages of our British rights and how to exercise and enjoy them. Also to send to England another body of able speakers, and to provide means to go throughout the country and by large meetings to convince the British people that we justly claim and must have all British rights of self-government. By doing that I am sure that the British conscience will triumph and the British people will support the present statesmen, in their work of giving India responsible self-government in the shortest possible period. We must have a great agitation in England as well as here. The struggle against the Corn Laws cost, I think, two millions, and there was a great agitation. Let us learn to help ourselves in the same way.

I have said at the beginning that the duties of this Congress are twofold. And of the two, the claim to a change of present policy leading to self-government is the chief and most important work.

The second part of the work is the vigilant watch over the inevitable and unnecessary defects of the present machinery of the administration as it exists and as long as it exists. And as the fundamental principles of the present administration are unsound there are inherent evils, and others are naturally ever arising from them. These the Congress has to watch, and adopt means to remedy them as far as possible till self-government is attained, though it is only when self-government is attained that India will be free from its present evils and consequent sufferings.

This part of the work the Congress has been doing very largely during all the past twenty-one years, and the Subjects Committee will place before you various resolutions necessary for the improvement of the existing administration as far as such unnatural and uneconomic administration can be improved. I would have not troubled you more but that I should like to say a few words upon some topics connected with the second part of the Congress—Bengal Partition and *Swadeshi* movement.

In the Bengal Partition, the Bengalees have a just and great grievance. It is a bad blunder for England. I do not despair but that this blunder, I hope, may yet be rectified. This subject is being so well threshed out by the Bengalees themselves that I need not say anything more about it. But in connection with it we hear a great deal about agitators and agitation. Agitation is the life and soul of the whole political, social and industrial history of England. It is by agitation the English have accomplished their most glorious achievements, their prosperity, their liberties, and in short their first place among the Nations of the World.

The whole life of England, every day, is all agitation. You do not open your paper in the morning but read from

beginning to end it is all agitation—Congresses and Conferences—Meetings and Resolutions—without end, for a thousand and one movements, local and national. From the Prime Minister to the humblest politician his occupation is agitation for everything he wants to accomplish. The whole Parliament, Press and Paltform, is simply all agitation. Agitation is the civilized peaceful weapon of moral force, and infinitely preferable to brute physical force when possible. The subject is very tempting. But I shall not say more than that the Indian journalists are mere Matriculators while the Anglo-Indian journalists are Masters of Arts in the University of British Agitators. The former are only the pupils of the latter, and the Anglo-Indian journalists ought to feel proud that their pupils are doing credit to them. Perhaps a few words from an English statesman will be more sedative and satisfactory.

Macaulay has said in one of his speeches:—

> I hold that we have owed to agitation a long series of beneficent reforms which would have been effected in no other way the truth is that agitation is inseparable from popular government Would the slave trade ever have been abolished without agitation? Would slavery ever have been abolished without agitation?

For every movement in England—hundreds, local and national—the cheap weapons are agitation by meetings, demonstrations and petitions to Parliament. These petitions are not any begging for any favours any more than that the conventional "Your obedient servant" in letters makes a man an obedient servant. It is the conventional way of approaching higher authorities. The petitions are claims for rights or for justice or for reforms,—to influence and put pressure on Parliament by showing how the public regard any particular matter. The fact that we have more or less failed hitherto, is not because we have petitioned too much but that we have petitioned too little. One of the factors that carries weight in Parliament is the evidence that the people interested in any question are really in earnest. Only the other day Mr. Asquith urged as one of his reasons

against women's franchise that he did not see sufficient evidence to show that the majority of the women themselves were earnest to acquire the franchise. We have not petitioned or agitated enough at all in our demands. In every important matter we must petition Parliament with hundreds and thousands of petitions—with hundreds of thousands of signatures from all parts of India. Taking one present instance in England, the Church party has held till the beginning of October 1,400 meetings known, and many more unknown, against the Education Bill, and petitioned with three-quarters of a million signatures and many demonstrations. Since then they have been possibly more and more active. Agitate, agitate over the whole length and breadth of India in every nook and corner—peacefully, of course—if we really mean to get justice from John Bull. Satisfy him that we are in earnest. The Bengalis, I am glad, have learnt the lesson and have led the march. All India must learn the lesson—of sacrifice of money and of earnest personal work.

Agitate, to agitate means inform. Inform the Indian people what their rights are and why and how they should obtain them, and inform the British people of the rights of the Indian people and why they should grant them. If we do not speak, they say we are satisfied. If we speak, we become agitators! The Indian people are properly asked to act constitutionally while the government remains unconstitutional and despotic.

Next about the "settled fact". Every Bill defeated in Parliament is a "settled fact". Is it not? And the next year it makes its appearance again. The Education Act of 1902 was a settled fact. An Act of Parliament, was it not? And now within a short time what a turmoil is it in? And what an agitation and excitement has been going on about it and is still in prospect. It may lead to a clash between the two Houses of Parliament. There is nothing as an eternal "settled fact". Times change, circumstances are mis-

understood or change, better light and understanding, or new forces come into play, and what is settled to-day may become obsolete to-morrow.

The organizations which I suggest, and which I may call a band of political missionaries in all the Provinces, will serve many purposes at once—to inform the people of their rights, as British citizens, to prepare them to claim those rights by petitions, and when the rights are obtained, as sooner or later they must be obtained, to exercise and enjoy them.

"Swadeshi" is not a thing of to-day. It has existed in Bombay as far as I know for many years past. I am a free-trader, I am a Member, and in the Executive Committee of the Cobden Club for 20 years, and yet I say that "Swadeshi" is a forced necessity for India in its unnatural economic muddle. As long as the economic condition remains unnatural and impoverishing, by the necessity of supplying every year some Rs. 20,00,00,000 for the salary, pensions, &c., of the children of a foreign country at the expense and impoverishment of the children of India, to talk of applying economic laws to the condition of India is adding insult to injury. I have said so much about this over and over again that I would not say more about it here—I refer to my book. I ask any Englishman whether Englishmen would submit to this unnatural economic muddle of India for a single day in England, leave alone 150 years? No, never. No, Ladies and Gentlemen, England will never submit to it. It is, what I have already quoted in Mr. Morley's words, it is "the meddling wrongly with economic things that is going to the very life, to the very heart, to the very core of our national existence". (*Vide* Appendix B.)

Among the duties which I have said are incumbent upon the Indians, there is one which, though I mention last, is not the least. I mean a thorough political union among the Indian people of all creeds and classes. I make an appeal to all—call it mendicant, if you like—I am not

ashamed of being a mendicant in any good cause and under necessity for any good cause. I appeal to the Indian people for this, because it is in their own hands only, just as I appeal to the British people for things that are entirely in their hands. In this appeal for a thorough union for political purposes among all the people, I make a particular one to my friends the Mahomedans. They are a manly people. They have been rulers both in and out of India. They are rulers this day both in and out of India. They have the highest Indian Prince ruling over the largest Native States, *viz.*, H. H. the Nizam. Among other Mahomedan Princes they have Junagad, Badhanpur, Bhopal and others.

Notwithstanding their backward education they have the pride of having had in all India the first Indian Barrister in Mr. Budrudin Tyabji and first Solicitor in Mr. Kamrudin Tyabji, two Mahomedan brothers. What a large share of Bombay commerce is in the hands of Mahomedans is well-known. Their chief purpose and effort at present must be to spread education among themselves. In this matter, among their best friends have been Sir Syed Ahmed and Justice Tyabji, in doing their utmost to promote education among them. Once they bring themselves in education in a line with the Hindus they have nothing to fear. They have in them the capacity, energy and intellect to hold their own and to get their due share in all the walks of life—of which the State services are but a small part. State services are not everything.

Whatever voice I can have, I wish Government would give every possible help to promote education among the Mahomedans. Once self-government is attained, then will there be prosperity enough for all, but not till then. The thorough union, therefore, of all the people for their emancipation is an absolute necessity.

All the people in their political position are in one boat. They must sink or swim together. Without this union all efforts will be vain. There is the common saying—

but also the best common-sense—"United we stand—divided we fall".

There is one other circumstance, I may mention here. If I am right, I am under the impression that the bulk of the Bengali Mahomedans were Hindus by race and blood only a few generations ago. They have the tie of blood and kinship. Even now a great mass of the Bengali Mahomedans are not to be easily distinguished from their Hindu brothers. In many places they join together in their social joys and sorrows. They cannot divest themselves from the natural affinity of common blood. On the Bombay side the Hindus and Mahomedans of Gujarat all speak the same language, Gujarati, and are of the same stock, and all the Hindus and Mahomedans of Maharastra Annan—all speak the same language, Marathi, and are of the same stock—and so I think it is all over India, excepting in North India, where there are the descendants of the original Mahomedan invaders, but they are now also the people of India.

Sir Syed Ahmed was a nationalist to the backbone. I will mention an incident that happened to myself with him. On his first visit to England, we happened to meet together in the house of Sir C. Wingfield. He and his friends were waiting, and I was shown into the same room. One of his friends recognising me introduced me to him. As soon as he heard my name he at once held me in a strong embrace and expressed himself very much pleased. In various ways I knew that his heart was in the welfare of all India as one nation. He was a large and liberal-minded patriot. When I read his life some time ago, I was inspired with respect and admiration for him. As I cannot find my copy of his life I take the opportunity of repeating some of his utterances, which Sir Henry Cotton has given in *India* of 12th October last.

Mahomedans and Hindus were, he said, the two eyes of of India. Injure the one and you injure the other. "We should try to become one in heart and soul and act in

unison; if united, we can support each other; if not the effect of one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both".

He appreciated when he found worth and freely expressed it. He said: "I assure you that the Bengalis are the only people in our country whom we can properly be proud of, and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty and patriotism have progressed in our country. I can truly say that they are really the head and crown of all the communities of Hindustan. In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Mahomedans, because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it".

Such was the wise and patriotic counsel of that great man, and our Mahomedan friends will, I hope, take it to heart. I repeat once more that our emancipation depends upon the thorough union of all the people of India without any obstruction.

I have often read about the question of a constitution for the Congress. I think the gentlemen who raise this question would be the proper persons to prepare one like a Bill in the House of Commons in all its details. The Congress then can consider it and deal with it as the majority may decide.

Let every one of us do the best he can, do all in harmony for the common object of self-government.

Lastly, the question of social reforms and industrial progress—each of them needs its own earnest body of workers. Each requires for it separate devoted attention. All the three great purposes—Political, Social and Industrial—must be set working side by side. The progress in each will have its influence on the others. But as Mr. Morley truly and with deep insight says:—"Political principles are, after all, the root of our national greatness, strength and hope", and his other important utterance which I repeat with this one sums up the whole position of the Indian problem. He says:—"The meddling wrongly with economic things.

that is going to the very life, to the very heart, to the very core of our national existence ".

This meddling wrongly with economic things is the whole evil from which India suffers—and the only remedy for it is—"Political principles are, after all, the root of our national greatness, strength and hope". And these political principles are summed up in self-government. Self-government is the only and chief remedy. In self-government lies our hope, strength, and greatness.

I recommend to your serious notice the treatment of British Indians in South Africa.

I give a small Appendix B of some facts and figures which I need not read now.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have finished my task. I do not know what good fortune may be in store for me during the short period that may be left to me, and if I can leave a word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen I say, be united, persevere, and achieve self-government so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plagues, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved, and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and civilized nations of the world.

APPENDIX A.

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Here I confine myself to some of the declarations as to the duty of Liberalism and the absolute necessity of self-government for progress and prosperity.

DECLARATIONS OF THE RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

There is one thing in which I will yield to none of them namely in my devotion to the Liberal Party and my faithful adherence to Liberal principles. . . We are members of the party of progress and action and movement, and not the party of mere resistance and delay.

[*The Reform Club, 6-3-1899*].

The Liberal Party was described by its great Leader as a great instrument of progress. It is a great instrument for progress, and the question is how are we best to use that great instrument?

[*House of Commons, 19-2-1900*].

The views and opinions which I have set before you are those of a Liberal. They are the opinions which have been traditions in that Party. We seek the good of the people through the people and by trusting the people. We wish to destroy privilege or monopoly whether of class or sect or person when it is hurtful to the people. And whether in internal constitution or in external policy, we hold that it is not power, nor glory, nor wealth that exalteth a nation, but righteousness, justice and freedom. It is for you to say whether you are with us or against us.

I do not confound territorial extent with strength, nor do I see that the glory or success of the Empire is increased by beating down our neighbours.

[*Election Address*, 21-9-1900].

The British power cannot there and elsewhere rest securely unless it rests upon the willing consent of a sympathetic and contented people.

[*Oxford*, 2-3-1901.]

It is only by the consent of the governed that the British Nation can govern.

[*Plymouth*, 19-11-1901].

What are these principles and facts? The virtues, the efficacy, the justice of self-government. That is one Liberal principle. The appreciation and encouragement of National sentiment. That is another Liberal principle. The recognition of the popular will constitutionally expressed through the people's representatives. That is another Liberal principle. That may do for principles.

[*Leicester*, 19-2-1902].

We Liberals are accustomed to freedom of thought and action. Freedom is the breath of our life It possesses in two of its most sacred dogmas, the only solution of the chief problems which

confront our country in Imperial Policy and in regard to our domestic needs It is the universal doctrine of government by assent — government with the consent of the governed . . . Why there is but one cardinal condition again of Liberal principle--that of direct popular control by those concerned. Now these are two of the beacons by which Liberal policy should be guided.

[*National Liberal Club*, 5-3-1902].

The principles of the Party [Liberal] not any new-fangled principles, but the old ones which were as good to-day and as much required as they were two or three hundred years ago—were the only principles which could lead to the happiness of the people and to the development of the power and prosperity of the community.

[*Skipton*, 10-12-1902].

It it can be shown that poverty, whether it be material poverty, or poverty of physique and of energy, is associated with economic conditions, which though supported by the laws of the country are nevertheless contrary to economic laws and to public policy, the State can intervene without fear of doing harm.

[*Newport*, 30-11-1903].

What is the Liberal Policy? . . . We stand for liberty. Our policy is the policy of freedom. It is the policy of freedom in all things that affect the life of the people, freedom of conscience freedom from class ascendancy

[*Norwich*, 26-10-1904.]

John Bull had many weak points no doubt, but he had one good point above all others- that he liked that which was straightforward and open and candid, and honest and above-board both in language and in action.

[*National Liberal Club*, 1-6-1905].

Now I say if there is any man who is a true John Bull in respect of straightforwardness, etc., Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is one.

Our principles . . . and one of these principles, let me tell you, is that the interests of persons, classes and sections must yield to the general interests of the community.

[*Portsmouth*, 16-11-1905].

Good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves.

[*Stirling*, 23-11-1905].

Ladies and gentlemen, so much for peace, so much for economy two cardinal Liberal principles. But here is another - self-government and popular control : and we believe in that principle, not only on grounds of justice and on the grounds of effective administration, but on this other ground -that it exercises a wholesome influence on the character of the people who enjoy the privilege.

[*Albert Hall*, 21-12-1905].

Sir, in all these subjects on which I have been touching, what is the aim to be kept in view, what is the star which we ought to keep our eyes upon to see that we are moving in the right direction? It is that we

should promote the welfare and happiness and interests not of any particular class or section of the community but of the nation at large. That is the work of true patriotism, these are the foundations upon which a solid empire may be built.

[*Albert Hall*, 15-12-1905].

The new Government had, he verily believed, the public conscience, the public sense of right, the public love of equity. With these they would win.

[*Liverpool*, 9-1-1906].

The present Government would set themselves to apply the old Liberal principles to legislation and administration, the principles of freedom, of equal treatment of all sections of the community in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. They will include the principle of self-government, the idea that people knew best about their own affairs and would give up the old idea that there should be some superior people in the country who were to tell their neighbours what was good for them.

[*Stirling Burghs - Culross*, 12-1-1906].

The policy and spirit which would govern the action of the present government would be based on justice and liberty, not on privilege and monopoly.

[*Glasgow*, 15-1-1906].

And the third is the belief that in Ireland as in every other country throughout the King's dominions self-government is the best and safest and healthiest basis on which a community can rest.

[*Inverness*, 18-1-1906].

We, lovers of our country, lovers of our constitution, lovers of our public traditions and lovers of plain dealing I am proud and glad and relieved to see a revival of the old political spirit..... the spirit which has made Liberalism a moral force, a force making for justice sustained by a belief in mankind, and anxious to better the condition of our common life. It was a great uprising against a doctrine, a habit of thought and a practice in public life, a method of government abhorrent to the conscience and heart of the nation.

[*National Liberal Club*, 14-2-1906].

DECLARATIONS OF THE RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY.

Imperialism by all means, if it means mercy, if it means humanity, if it means justice, but if it means your own demoralization, if it means lowering your own standard of civilization and humanity, then in the name of all you hold precious beware of it and resist it.

[*Sydney*, 25-5-1899].

When he [Mr. Gladstone] died Lord Salisbury said of him that he was a great Christian. Yes, and I would add that he was not a Christian for nothing. I think he must often have used to himself the language of Wordsworth, "Earth is sick and heaven is weary of the swollen words that States and Kingdoms utter when they talk of truth and justice". He, at all events, in face of all the demands of practical politics, did his best

to bring those considerations of truth and justice into the minds and hearts of his countrymen .. . But I do say that Mr. Gladstone, when he saw the nations going on a wrong path, saw high in the heavens the flash of the uplifted sword and the gleam of the arm of the Avenging Angel

[*Manchester— Unveiling of Statue*, 10-10-1901].

It is this policy of passing measures for Ireland without reference to the Irish themselves that is responsible for most of the mischief and misgovernment from which Ireland has so long suffered . From observation of Irish Government, from experience of Irish Government, from responsibility of Irish Government, I say to you, gentlemen, face to face, it is a bad government, it is a government which no nation, no set of people can be expected to endure in peace, and it is a government which we in our conscience ought to do our very best, when the time comes, when opportunity presents itself to put right as we have put so many other evils in our own system of government right.

[*Manchester*, 12-3-1902].

With how much more force do these words apply to India!

We are going to have I suppose—well we may have a proposal to suspend the constitution of Cape Colony. Just picture the scene in the House of Commons. The motion is made to protest against the suspension of Parliamentary Institutions in the Cape Colony. We then all get up, and we all make eloquent, passionate, argumentative speeches in favour of the right of the Colonies to govern themselves. The next day Mr. Redmond makes a motion in favour of giving self-government in one shape or another to Ireland. We then all pick out a new set of arguments. What was on Monday unanswerable on Tuesday becomes not worth mentioning. What was on Monday a sacred principle of self-government becomes on Tuesday mere moonshine and claptrap. That is a comedy in which I at least do not propose to take part. The Boers are to have self-government in order to make them loyal. The Irish are not to have it because they are disloyal.

[*Edinburgh*, 7-6-1902].

What a true picture of the way in which India is treated!

We are citizens, common citizens of a grand country; we are the heirs of a noble tradition; we believe that human progress can only be won by human effort—and that effort, I hope, all of us in our different degrees, ages and situations will pursue with determination, with unselfishness and with a resolute directness and simplicity that must in the end win a crowning victory.

[*National Liberal Federation Annual Meeting*, 13-5-1901].

He was for liberty wherever they could get it.

* * * * *

He looked forward to a vigorous, progessive, pacific, rational policy. The new Government, he hoped, would realise that courage in large politics was the true common sense, and he looked forward to the true progressive movement.

* * * * *

Last Session the whole Liberal Party in the House of Commons voted in favour of Mr. Redmond's Amendment, which stated that the present system of government in Ireland was in opposition to the will of the Irish People, and gave them no voice in the management of their affairs, was extravagantly costly and did not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, was productive of universal discontent and unrest, and had been proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people.

Surely then it was incredible that a Party which supported an indictment so damning should have no policy for dealing with such a state of affairs.

He would recall the fact that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Leader of the Liberal Party, who had stuck to his guns, and had saved his party, said, speaking on that very amendment.

What was the principle at the root of the policy? It was the right of the Irish people to the management of their own domestic affairs. The successive plans by which this was to be given to them failed to satisfy the country; but the principle of self-government, the principle of an elective element that shall be the governing element in Irish affairs still remains.

[*Forfar*, 20-10-1905].

But whatever the schemes and wisdom of a statesman might be, he should know that all the glittering adventures of imperial pride were vain and empty, were delusive and guilty, if he did not constantly have before him the aim of mitigating the lot of the great masses of men, women and children who were always very near hunger and nakedness.

[*Walthamstow*, 20-11-1905].

DECLARATIONS OF THE RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH.

The Liberal Party is—as it always has been—the standing enemy of unjustified privileges and of unequal laws. The spirit of Liberalism is a strong and a vital factor—is as strong and as vital as it ever was—in moulding the conceptions and the ideals of the British people.

[*Kilmarnock*, 5-10-1897].

No one in this country—no British Liberal at any rate—can contemplate with satisfaction a system under which numbers of our own countrymen are denied some of those civil and political rights which we are accustomed to regard as the necessary equipment of a civilized social community.

[*Leven*, 2-9-1899].

We call ourselves Liberals. We are proud of the name. We are prepared to maintain our title to it against all comers But how do we stand? What has been in days gone by the essence of the Liberal creed and the spirit of Liberal work? I think I may say, and you will agree with me, that for the first sixty or seventy years

of the present century, the chief mission of Liberalism was the mission of emancipation. It waged war with religious disabilities that offended the conscience and blocked the road to talent more important than either it was the Liberalism of that time which laid the foundations of Democratic Government, in a Society which had never been swept and levelled by the tornado of revolution. If we look beyond these shores to the Greater Britain of which we have become Trustees, I think we see there again equally clear ground for the application of old principles to new problems. We are proud of the British Empire. There is no distinction on that point between one party in the State and the other. But empire is a blessing or a curse according to the spirit in which its responsibilities are approached and handled

According to what I believe to be the liberal conception of Empire, it is something vastly greater and higher than this. There are—I believe I am speaking your sense as well as my own—in the judgment of us Liberals two tests of a standing or falling empire. We ask. in the first place, does it in all its parts make the standard not merely of material life, but of all that goes to enrich civilization and humanity higher and more deeply founded, more securely safeguarded. We ask next, does its unity arise not from the compulsory acquisition of subject races, but from the conscious and willing co-operation of living and self-determining members? Does it rest not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights?

[*Edinburgh*, 10-1-1900].

I pause here a little. We Indians also had the good fortune in sharing in the glorious work of the Liberal statesman of the thirties of the last century. We also had our emancipation by the Act of 1833. What a glorious and truly noble and liberal work was that at that time! I have already touched upon that subject. Had that Act been honourably, loyally and sincerely carried out, what a glorious empire would by this time the British Empire have become, and how truly and nobly would the two tests laid down above have been fulfilled! The present grand revival of Liberalism, with its irresistible power, is just the opportune moment to accomplish. by a bold effort, the redemption of the past failure of duty, conscience, humanity and honour.

Liberty and justice, the touchstone of policy of the Empire and its external arrangements. In these methods lay the only hope for the future honour of our Empire.

[*Oxford*, 24-2-4].

Liberty was the best antidote or medicine for discontent and disloyalty.

[*Tayport*, 14-9-1900].

It is the work of statesmanship in this country to make the Empire worth living in, as well as worth dying for. In the long run every society is judged and every society survives according to the material and moral minimum which it prescribes to its members.

[*Hotel Cecil*, 19-7-1901].

You should aim from the very beginning at such a progressive development in self-government as will in time ripen into the full autonomy of Australia or Canada. That policy ought to commend itself not only to the Liberal Party but to the whole country.

[*Hanley*, 14-1-1902].

The great experience of Canada, where. by the granting of free institutions, races which seventy years ago were flying at one another's throats were now sitting down side by side in harmony and contentment. That will be the case in India.

[*St. Leonards*, 14-3-1902].

Mr. Asquith proceeded to set forth the Liberal ideal. This, he said, implied self-government and self-development in fiscal as in all other matters. An excellent example was to be found in the history of Canada, where internal dissensions and external revolt against the Empire had been quelled by self-government. So that the French and British portions of the population had worked out an ideal for themselves resulting in prosperity.

[*Morley*, 2-21-1906].

If they gave the new Liberal Government a strong, strenuous, independent working majority, they would find many directions, in which arrears had to be made up, reactionary steps retraced, and lost ground recovered, they would do what they could both to set right the past and to give the country a new and vigorous start for the future.

[*St. Monans*, 13-1-1906].

In all this there was a lesson which ought to be taken to heart, namely, that in English politics it was the straightforward, the direct, the plain policy which in the long run paid.

[*Henley*, 18-1-1906].

This country, by carrying out the great Liberal principle of confidence in the people and allowing them to manage their own affairs, would have our imperial unity on the broadest, soundest and most stable foundation. It was in this spirit that the new Government hoped to attack other problems of legislation and administration which lay before them.

[*East Fife*, 20-1-1906].

I conclude these declarations by two more of one who, though dead, is still living in our hearts and minds, and whom Mr. Morley himself has given his immortality in this world.

Mr. Gladstone says:—It has been providentially allotted to this favoured isle, that it should show to all the world how freedom and authority, in their due and wise developments, not only may co-exist, in the same body, but may, instead of impairing, sustain and strengthen one another. I am deeply convinced that among us all systems, whether religious or political, which rest on a principle of absolutism, must of necessity be not indeed tyrannical, but feeble and ineffective systems, and that methodically to enlist the members of a community, with due

regard to their several capacities in the performance of public duties, is the way to make that community powerful and healthful, to give a firm seat to its rulers, and to engender a warm and intelligent devotion to those beneath their sway.

[*Daily News*, 5-5-1905].

The following is one of Mr. Gladstone's latest utterances on the occasion of one of the greatest achievements of his life—Home Rule for Ireland? He said:—

It is the predominance of that moral force for which I heartily pray in the deliberations of this House and the conduct of our whole Public Policy. . . . There can be no more melancholy, and in the last result no more degrading spectacle upon earth than the spectacle of oppression or of wrong in whatever form inflicted by the deliberate act of a nation upon another nation.

But on the other hand there can be no nobler spectacle than that which we think is now dawning upon us, the spectacle of a nation deliberately set on the removal of injustice, deliberately determined to break—not through terror and not in haste but under the sole influence of duty and honour—determined to break with whatever remains still existing of an evil tradition, and determined in that way at once to pay a debt of justice and to consult by a bold, wise and good act its own interest and its own honour.

DECLARATIONS OF THE RIGHT HON. R. B. HALDANE.

It was their duty to try to govern the Irish people in a sense which was more akin to their ideas and less entirely subordinate to our own they recognised it was a duty binding upon them by every obligation of honour and policy that they should strive to bring the administration of Ireland in harmony with the minds of her people and should endeavour by every means to convert the people of this country to a juster view of their obligations to that unhappy land and to a fuller recognition of their title to administer those things that were their own.

[*North Berwick*, 23-1-1906].

Now these sentiments and principles apply with manifold force to India to whom the British people are bound to give self-government, not only by rights of birth as British citizens, but also by a "duty binding upon them [the British people] by every obligation of honour and policy" by the most solemn pledges given several times before God and the world.

At Darleton on 24-1-1906 he said:—

The breath to the nostrils of the Imperial Organisation was FREEDOM.

I make no comments on these declarations, as being the statesmen's own nobody can more realise their full scope, significance and application to India than themselves.

All these declarations apply with manifold force to India under the peculiar circumstances of a foreign draining domination under which she is suffering—a circumstance which in its very nature cannot but be evil.

APPENDIX B.

—:o:—

Mr. Brodrick, in his Budget Speech of June 1905, said that the exports from the United Kingdom to India which last year had grown to £40,000,000, equalled the whole of the exports from the United Kingdom to Australia, to Canada and to Cape Celony combined. This statement is misleading. The truth is this.

The true test of comparison of the exports of British and Irish produce to the four countries is what each received per head of population. Australia's population [1903] was 3,931,274. The exports to Australia in 1904 were £17,336,470, giving 88s. 2d. per head. Canada's population [1903] was 5,753,039. The exports to Canada in 1904 were £10,624,221, giving nearly 37 per head. Cape of Good Hope's population [1904] was 12,409,804. The exports to the Cape of Good Hope in 1904 were £12,048,778, giving 100 per head.

FINANCE.

From the financial point of view the employment of Indians under self-government will naturally be on a lower scale of pay than the inordinate scale that exists at present for Europeans. Besides, as in the United Kingdom, all that is raised by taxation will go back to the people—the taxpayers—by a hundred different channels.

The people of the United Kingdom pay at present for revenue about 67 shillings per head per annum, while poor India under the present exhausting drain can pay hardly 6 shillings 6 pence per head, and that with much suffering.

The Colonies, within the short time of their development by self-government, are receiving British and Irish goods in spite of their protection against British goods,—Canada 37 per head ; Australia 88·12 per head and the Cape 100 per head ; India takes the very small amount of 2·18 per head after 150 years of British Rule and administration with free trade and with entire British control !

What an extraordinary loss this is to the industries, riches and trade of the United Kingdom. Had India been dealt with righteously with self-government like that of the Colonies, and had she been able to receive British goods, even 20 per head [let alone 37, 88 and 100], the United Kingdom would have exported to India in 1904 not the poor £40,000,000 but 7½ times £40,000,000, *i.e.*, £300,000,000, as much as the United Kingdom had in 1904 exported to the whole world, which was £300,711,040. What a grand thing it would have been for the wealth and industries and trade of the United Kingdom ! This grand result would have happened if India had self-government ; and will happen when India will be a self-governing country.

Now let us see what India has received of British and Irish goods. India's population [estimate for 1903] was nearly 300,000,000. The exports to India were the small amount of £40,641,277, giving a poor 2-8 per head. It must be remembered that those exports to India include what is received by land through India by the countries beyond the borders. Allowing also for what is received in India for the consumption of Europeans and the small portion of well-to-do Indians, the British and Irish produce would hardly be 2 per head per annum as received by the great mass of the people, who, as Lord Lawrence said, "lived on scanty subsistence". Perhaps millions never see a British article.

Now with prosperity by self-government, if the people of India would be able to pay only 20 shillings even per head [let alone 67 which the people, of the United Kingdom pay]. what a growing revenue that of British India would be, *viz.*, £240,000.000 instead of the present poor £78,000,000 exacted from a poverty-stricken people. What a market would the 300,000,000 of all India's prosperous people be for the United Kingdom with free trade between England and India? India with such a revenue would be able to supply all her needs in abundance.

DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE, C.I.E.*

BENARES AND CALCUTTA.

BROTHER DELEGATES AND COUNTRYMEN,—As Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my privilege to welcome you to Calcutta, a city which in many ways presents a strong contrast to Benares, where you assembled last year;—that 'sweet city of dreaming spires' plunged in thought and passionately yearning for a higher and truer life than can be found in the things of this world, its pomps, its vanities, and its cares. The city of Job Charnock is not, I admit, classic ground. It does not draw our pulses as Benares does;—so rich in historic associations and so lovely even in her desolation. And yet Calcutta is by no means an unfit place for the meeting of the National Congress; for the life and motion and the many-sided activity, the signs of which are all around you, are typical of the new order that has been called into existence by the play and interaction of Eastern and Western ideals which, without killing our deep spiritual life,—that precious heritage of every child of the East —have inspired us with a sense of social duty incompatible with a life of cloistered seclusion and pale asceticism. And it is this sense of social duty that has brought together from all parts of India, no longer a mere geographical expression, a band of self-denying men representing the intelligence, the culture and the public spirit of the motherland, fired with the noblest and purest purposes, resolved to do their duty to their country and confident in her destiny. They know that for good or for ill they stand face to face with a new world and must adapt themselves to the environment. They know that the problems which now meet them cannot be

* Welcome Address to the Delegates of the Twenty-second Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1906.

solved by piety and philosophy alone, and that under the new conditions which have arisen, political and social action is essential to our progress as citizens of the British Empire. Calcutta, therefore, is, I repeat, not an unfit place for the discussion of the new problems which have arisen. Indeed, in some ways this city, with its ceaseless roar and whirl, is a fitter place than Benares, whose true strength lies not in action but in thought.

CONSISTENT WITH LOYALTY.

The Committee of which I have the honour to be the Chairman consists of representatives of all sections of the community, including several Mahomedan gentlemen of light and leading, who, like the late Mr. Tayabjee, the foremost man among his community in our generation, whose loss is still fresh upon us, believe that their duty to their country is not inconsistent with loyalty to England, I mean true loyalty—the loyalty of the dial to the sun, and not that protected loyalty in plush, which proclaims itself from the housetops and whenever any person in authority speaks is ready to shout, "It is the voice of a God and not of a man". With the exception of some Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs in the Eastern province, who are now weeping like the poor Queen of Carthage for Sir Joseph Fuller, you will find on the Reception Committee almost all the most prominent men of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Maharajahs and Rajahs, representatives of ancient houses, elected members of Legislative Councils, of Municipalities and Local and District Boards, professors and schoolmasters, merchants and traders, doctors, journalists and lawyers, are all to be found on its rolls.

TWO MISSING FIGURES.

But you will miss two names which have been associated with the Congress from the very beginning. Woomesh Chander Bannerjee and Anund Mohan Bose have been recently lost to us, and we are yet in the fulness of our

grief. They fought side by side in the service of their country. to which they had dedicated their lives, and in death were not divided. Woomesh Chander Bannerjee stood by the cradle of the National Congress and nurtured and fostered it with parental solicitude and affection. That Congress, which may be said in no small measure to owe its very existence to him, comes of age to-day ; but our beloved leader, so wise and valiant, is not with us to partake in our rejoicings. His ashes rest in a foreign land, but a nation's sorrow followed him across the seas to his last resting place in England, the country which, next to his own, he loved best. In the death of Anund Mohan Bose, every one felt as if he had lost a personal friend; for he was of an eminently winning disposition, distinguished not less by his amiability than by the purity of his life. To deep spiritual fervour, he joined a lofty patriotism, working 'as ever in the great Task Masters' eye'. Indeed, in Anund Mohan Bose patriotism grew to the height of a religion. And it was this happy union of the religious and civic elements in the character that sustained him when, with his life fast ebbing away and with the valley of the shadow of death almost in sight, he poured out his soul in that memorable swan song of the 16th of October, 1905, when a whole people plunged in gloom assembled together in solemn protest against the ruthless dismemberment of their country. "If," says Cicero, "to his country a man gives all, he becomes entitled to what all money cannot buy,—the eternal love of his fellow-men". This is the exceeding great reward of every true patriot, and no one can question Anund Mohan's title to it. His death stirred Calcutta to its depths; and in that vast throng, which followed the bier in long and solemn procession, every eye was wet with tears, every face was clouded with the shadow of a deep sorrow.

YET THEY ARE WITH US.

Our friends have been taken away from us before their work was done. But if the soldier who dies in a forlorn hope has not lived in vain, depend upon it, the lives of Woomesh

Chander Bannerjee and Anund Mohan Bose cannot have been wasted as autumn leaves. True, their seats on the platform are vacant, true they can no longer guide our counsels or plead the cause of their country or defend it by tongue and by pen through good report and through evil report. But, they have left behind them a lesson which shall not die and an example for all time to inspire and encourage their countrymen —an example which ought to sustain and comfort us, when, as now, we are compassed round by dangers and by darkness. Is it an idle fancy, or do I really see our departed friends revisiting the scenes of their earthly labours and watching over our deliberations? Yes, they are with us to-day,—our guardian angels and patron saints whom we may reverence and even worship without offence, for such homage and worship, it is no paradox to say, are an ennobling and not a degrading superstition.

LAND OF MANY SORROWS.

Brother Delegates, I spoke just now of dangers and of darkness, and the tale of our afflictions is a long one. We have been tried by desolating floods and by famine in the very heart of the granary of the province, a famine in which numbers have died of hunger and slow starvation. Prosperity budgets could not keep them alive nor blue books on the material and moral progress of India nourish them. They died, men, women and children, without a murmur on their pale lips, and their bones are now whitening the plains of East Bengal together, I believe, with copies of Lord Lytton's Famine Commission Report. But even these visitations pale before the political perils by which we are threatened. For we are truly fallen on evil days and on evil tongues; and Bengal at the present moment is a land of many sorrows, in which we have been sustained and consoled only by the sympathy of our countrymen.

VICTIM TO ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY.

Our trials commenced with the partition of Bengal, that ill-starred measure of that most brilliant Viceroy who had no-

thing but gibes and sneers for our aspirations and prayers and who found India comparatively contented and left it fermenting with unrest. The notification of the 16th of October 1905 was the parting gift of Lord Curzon to Bengal, a province for which he always dissembled his love. Now, I do not mean to impute unworthy motives to the author of the dismemberment of our province, but he must be a bold man who should say that the separation of East Bengal is not likely to interfere with the collective power of the Bengalees or the growth of our national spirit. He must also be a bold man who should say that it is not a menace to the ascendancy of Calcutta, the centre of political and intellectual activity in this part of the country He must again be a bold man who should say that the Mahomedan population in the new province may not be used as tools by artful and unscrupulous persons to keep in check the growing strength of the educated community; for religious animosities may be easily kindled among an illiterate people, though not so easily subdued. A division on the basis of territory and population was tried, as we all know, by the French Revolutionary Government with the best of intentions, but with the most fatal results to the people. They reduced men to loose counters merely for the sake of simple telling and not to figures whose power is to arise from their place on the table. In the spirit of the geometrical distribution and arithmetical arrangement, these pretended citizens, says Burke, treated France exactly like a conquered country. Acting as conquerors, they imitated the policy of the harshest of that harsh race who contemn a subdued people and insult their feelings. The policy of such barbarians has ever been, as much as in them lay, to destroy all vestiges of the ancient country in polity, in laws, and in manners, and to lay low everything which had lifted its head above the level, or which could serve to combine or rally, in their distress, the disbanded people under the standard of old opinion. In a word, they destroyed the bonds of their union, under colour of providing for administrative efficiency. These sentiments may be foolishness to a

bureaucracy, 'mere tailors of business who cut the clothes but do not find the body', and who think that administrative efficiency can only be secured by the 'augmentation of official business, official power and official members'. But such is not the opinion of the author of the most appreciative life of Burke in our day.

TREATED AS HEREDITARY BONDSMEN.

I do not, however, wish to detain you with the case against the partition of Bengal; for nobody, except possibly G.C.I.E.'s, would now care to defend it. But many of you are probably not aware that the public had no opportunity whatever of discussing the scheme which was finally settled, and which fell in our midst like a bolt from the empyrean heights of Simla. Now, we may be, as our friends take care to remind us with perhaps needless iteration, hereditary bondsmen with whom the warlike races in India should have no fellowship; but I must confess, though our friends may not believe it, that we do not like to be treated as so many black beetles even by a brilliant Viceroy. But I am perhaps too hard upon Lord Curzon, who probably meant only to surprise us with this touching proof of his interest in our welfare. His Lordship, as we all know, had a horror of playing to the gallery and loved to do good by stealth, and I have no doubt blushed when he found its name in Printing House Square. But even his best friends now admit that it was a great pity his Lordship did not rest on his laurels when he had solved his twelve problems—a highly suggestive number; but I dare say this was a mere coincidence.

REDUCED TO TRIAL OF STRENGTH.

We have been told on high authority that the partition of Bengal is a settled fact, but Mr. Morley keeps an open mind, and we refuse to believe that the last word has been said or that the subject will never be re-opened. In the meantime, we cannot allow the question to sleep. Unfinished questions, it has been well said, have no pity for the repose of nations. We have been parted from those who are bound to us by the

ties of blood, of race, of language and of country, and bound, too, by the ties of common aspirations; and the wound which has been thus inflicted on us refuses to heal. The sentiments of the people have been trampled under foot by an autocratic Viceroy; and we owe it not only to ourselves but also to you, our countrymen, to give public expression to our feelings. For behind this deliberate outrage upon public sentiment and closely connected with it, there is a very much larger issue affecting the good government of the country. That issue is nothing more, nothing less than this. Is India to be governed autocratically without any regard to the sentiments and opinions of the people, who must be made to know their proper place as an inferior subject race, or on those enlightened principles which are professed by our rulers? The question of partition looked at from this point of view involves a trial of strength between the people and the bureaucracy, and in that trial, I am sure, we shall have not merely the good wishes but also the active support and sympathy of all our countrymen; and never, never were we in greater need of that support and sympathy than at the present moment.

APPEAL TO MR. MORLEY.

Mr. Morley has told us that if new facts are placed before him he will reconsider his decision. Do not the numerous anti-partition meetings, over 250 in number, which were held in Bengal on the 16th of October last, in which nearly a million of people, Hindus and Mahomedans, took part, show that the ferment created by the measure is not dying out, and are they not facts which speak for themselves? These demonstrations were not, they could not have been, the work of pestilent agitators, or of the intellectuals, whatever G.C.I.E's may affect to believe. Many of these meetings were presided over by Mahomedan gentlemen of rank and influence, and the great gathering in the Federation Ground in Calcutta had for its Chairman my learned and accomplished friend, Moulvi Mahomad Yusuf, Khan Bahadur, the President of the Maho-

medan Central Association. When there is such a deep-rooted and widespread sentiment, although it may not be based on reason, only two courses are possible, coercion or concession. There is no middle course, no halting place, and who can deny that the path of concession is also the path of true wisdom and true statemanship. The religious animosities again which have been sedulously fostered in East Bengal since the partition, when the Mahomedans came to appreciate the benevolent intentions of Sir Joseph Fuller, are among the bitter first fruits of that measure, to which also it is impossible for Mr. Morley to shut his eyes or close his heart. I am not a statesman, or I should have been a K.C.S.I. by this time, writing anonymously to the English Press; but I can easily foresee how the agitation will gain in volume and strength when the people of East Bengal find themselves living under a different administration and a different system of laws, enforced, too, by men who would gladly exchange places with more fortunate brethren in the older province. Is, then, the partition of Bengal a settled fact? By all the hopes within us, we say 'no.' And this is our settled conviction.

SYMPATHY, THE KEYNOTE OF HIS POLICY.

We know the difficulties by which Mr. Morley is surrounded, but we know also that sympathy is the keynote of his policy; and the statesman who pacified Ireland may be safely trusted yet to pacify Bengal by placing the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration. In Mr. Morley, the philosopher and statesman, the scholar and historian, we have a politician who knows the seasons when to take occasion by the hand and who will, I am confident, by timely concessions, unite in closer bonds England and her great dependency in the East. Some of my countrymen, I know, think that in relation to Indian affairs the Liberal is almost as illiberal as the Tory, and they may possibly be right. But of Mr. Morley it cannot be certainly said that he has given to party or class what was meant for mankind. To him the sundried bureaucrat is only a bureaucrat and not the very in-

carnation of wisdom. Nor does he believe in the infallibility of the man on the spot; for his is not one of those minds which are fed by mere phrases.

THE BARISAL TRAGEDY.

The partition of Bengal was followed by Russian methods of government with this difference : the officials who devised them were Englishman, while the Russian official is at least the countryman of those whom he governs or misgoverns. The singing of national songs and even the cry of *Bande Mataram* were forbidden under severe penalties. This ordinance was fittingly succeeded by the prosecution of school-boys, the quartering of military and punitive police, the prohibition and forcible dispersion of public meetings, and these high-handed proceedings attained their crown and completion in the tragedy at Barisal, when the Provincial Conference was dispersed by the Police, who wantonly broke the peace in order, I imagine, to keep the peace. Now, though we are a thoroughly loyal people, and our loyalty is not to be easily shaken, because it is founded on a more solid basis than mere sentiment. I have no hesitation in saying that we should be less than men if we could forget the tragedy of that day, the memory of which will always fill us with shame and humiliation. And this leads me to remark that it was not cowardice, whatever Mr. MacLeod may think, that prevented our young men from retaliating. It was their respect for law and order—their loyalty to their much reviled leaders that kept them in check.

A CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER.

All this has now happily been put an end to. But as soon as the cloud began to lift, those Anglo-Indians, who are obliged to live in this land of regrets merely from a high sense of duty, were seized with the fear that their monopoly of philanthropic work might be interrupted, and immediately commenced a campaign of slander and misrepresentation, which, in virulence and mendacity, has never been equalled. I.C.S.'s in masks and editors of Anglo-Indian newspapers forthwith be-

gan to warn the English people that we were thoroughly disloyal; ferretting out sedition with an ingenuity which would have done no discredit to the professors of Laputa. Cato tells us that the Roman augurs could not look in one another's face without a smile, and I have a shrewd suspicion that the editors and their masked correspondents who joined in this hunt must have exchanged significant glances "across the walnuts and the wine". One Calcutta paper discovered Golden Bengal, and told its startled readers that our province was honeycombed with secret societies. It seems, however, that with the retirement of that redoubtable knight, Sir Joseph Fuller, things took a more serious turn; for we then flung all secrecy aside and openly anointed and crowned Baboo Surendra Nath Bannerjee, whom I suppose I must no longer call my friend but my liege lord, as our king. A floral crown, it was said, might be a harmless thing, but there must have been sedition in the folds of the umbrella, and this silly story appropriately invented in the silly season, which heightened our gaiety in Calcutta, seems actually to have frightened hysterical old women in England, including some retired Anglo-Indians whose nerves, I fear, have been shattered by an immoderate use of the taxed salt of India. Where so many distinguished themselves, it might be invidious to mention the name of any particular individual; but I cannot help thinking that our special acknowledgments are due to Dr. Grierson, the great oriental scholar. Reputations, like fortunes, are very easily made by foreigners in India, who, with that charity which thinketh no evil, hastened to inform the English press that *Bande Mataram* is an invocation to *Kali*, the goddess of destruction—a goddess, by the way, whose altar will never be deserted as long as the pseudo-imperialism of our day, which means nothing more or nothing less than the culture of blood-thirst, lasts among the sons of men.

TRUE AND FALSE SWADESHI.

The Swadeshi movement seems also to have given great offence to a certain section of the Anglo-Indian community.

They have, they say, every sympathy with true Swadeshi, but none with the pseudo-Swadeshism of Bengal. Now I confess that, though a lawyer of some standing, not, perhaps, altogether inapt to find distinctions without any difference, I have never been able to discover the line which separates true from false swadeshi; though we all know the difference between true and false sympathy. It seems that if you call the movement a boycott of foreign goods, you are a traitor to England. But competition with Manchester is not yet treason in the Indian Statute Book. It is true the movement received an impetus from the Partition of Bengal, when we wanted to draw the attention of England to what we regarded as nothing less than vivisection, the crowning act in a reactionary policy steadily pursued for nearly seven years. But what reasonable man can doubt that the real strength of the Swadeshi movement is to be found in our natural desire to nurse our own industries which the Government of India with their free trade principles are unable to protect by building up a tariff wall? Mere boycotting, we know, will not bring happiness or wealth to us, or save our hungry masses from what Mr. Bryan calls the peace of the grave. This can only be done by improving the economical condition of the country so rich in resources of all kinds, by the creation and diffusion of domestic industries and by the investment of local capital in industrial arts in which India was pre-eminent at one time, but which have now almost all been killed by Western competition.

THE CRADLE OF NEW INDIA.

The Swadeshi movement is only a prelude to our determination to enter into the great brotherhood of the trading nations of the West, without, if possible, the eternal struggle between capital and labour, into which Japan has already been admitted. And if you want to know what progress we have made, come with me to the exhibition on the other side of the street, which I hope you have not boycotted, and I will show you what this movement, the implication of

which with politics is a mere accident in Bengal from which many of us would gladly dissociate it, has already done for us. A visit to it, I am sure, will fill the heart of every one of you with hope and gladness; for in Swadeshism you see the cradle of a new India. To speak of such a movement as disloyal is a lie and calumny. We love England with all her faults, but we love India more. If this is disloyalty we are, I am proud to say, disloyal. But is there a single Englishman who really thinks in his heart that the material progress of the country will loosen the ties which bind us to England? On the contrary, would it not, by relieving the economical drain on India, bind the two countries closer together?

A MOTIVE POWER.

Swadeshism, I need not remind you, is not a new cult. It counted among its votaries almost all thoughtful men long before the division of Bengal, and found expression in the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held under the auspices of the National Congress in Calcutta in 1901. It does not, I repeat, mean hostility to any anything and everything that is British, but merely the awakening of an industrial life. The Swadeshi movement has been the principal motive power in the industrial development of the country, and I would remind those who say that Bengal can only talk, that in the course of the present year more than ten lakhs of rupees have been given by Bengalees for the encouragement of technical education. Our young men are now taking in large numbers to industrial pursuits, and are qualifying themselves for their different callings in the national institutions which have been recently opened in Calcutta; but the most promising feature in the movement is that it has brought the masses and the educated classes together, as it promises to the artisan and labourer some mitigation of the chronic poverty in which they are now steeped. And here I must interrupt myself for a moment to point out that the great assistance which has been rendered to us by Government in organizing our

Exhibition shows their friendliness to the Swadeshi movement. This action of Government, I am sure, will tend to draw closer the ties which should bind them and the people together; and their co-operation, which has been of the greatest help to us, ought to give food for reflection to those who revile Government in season and out of season. It would perhaps be idle to endeavour to convince men who brood only on the old commercial jealousy of England, which did not a little to kill Irish and Indian industries. But I may be permitted to point out that they forget that in those days a ruling race did not regard itself as subject to the restraints which now govern its relations with a subject race. It is true the ethical code of Plato is not yet the code of the statesman, but it is now generally acknowledged that to impoverish a subject race is not only unwise but morally wrong.

THE BUTT OF ANGLO-INDIAN THREATS.

I trust I have said enough to satisfy every sane man that we have no idea of driving the English into the sea by our speeches and writings. I am aware that some irresponsible and impulsive journalists and platform speakers have been occasionally betrayed into the use of intemperate language. But is there no excuse for them? We have been called yelping jackals, wolves and chattering *bunderlog*; and even the Viceroy has been described as a nincompoop, and the Secretary of State a dummy, because they would not reduce us to the position of whipped curs. But what is even worse than 'yelping jackals', 'chattering *bunderlog*' and 'whipped curs', we have been the butt of a Scotman's wit. Again, one paper, which shall be nameless, spoke of the 'organised scoundrelism' of Eastern Bengal and threatened us with the gallows and the sword, to be used as remorselessly as in the dark days of the mutiny, for the 'tiger spirit' of the editor had been roused. It is true he spoke of the tiger spirit of the English; but natural history does not furnish any instance in which a lion has degenerated into a tiger in

India, although such a transformation is not, perhaps, absolutely impossible. There was not one to speak the fitting word, the word in due season, to soothe our bruised hearts.

FROTHING UNDER MADDENING WRONGS.

It would, however, be idle to deny, and I do not pretend to deny, that a bitter and angry feeling is growing up in the country; but I deny that there is any sedition or disloyalty; though I am confident that if Lord Curzon's bigamous lieutenant had been allowed to work his will in the Eastern Province, the ferment created by the partition would have reached a critical point. It would be idle to deny, and I do not pretend to deny, that the reactionary policy pursued by the late Viceroy has left behind it a burning sense of helplessness and humiliation, and has driven some of my countrymen, as yet small in numbers, almost mad with indignation. They are, generally speaking, impulsive young men, of whom I would say nothing harsher than that they seem to me to love their country not wisely but too well. But to charge them with open or covert disloyalty is to forget that mere academic discussion is not sedition nor pious opinions a crime. I say pious opinions, because no man out of Bedlam and very few even inside it regard such discussions as falling within the range of practical politics, and the notion that we want the English to clear out immediately bag and baggage is too absurd for any credulity, but the credulity of those whose conscience has made them cowards. Our critics should also remember that nations, like individuals, sometimes lose their heads, and that the partition of Bengal is one of those maddening wrongs under which it is not possible for the unhappy sufferers to show prudence and moderation. These qualities should rather be shown by those who have driven a law-abiding people to the very verge of madness. Even the Bengalee cannot be expected always "to hope all things, to believe all things, and to endure all things". "But those who have used to cramp liberty, as the author of the Drapier's Letters points

out, have gone so far as to resent even the liberty of complaining; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of roaring as loud as he thought fit".

SICK WITH HOPE DEFERRED.

The men of whom I am speaking have lost all confidence in the good faith of government, and have persuaded themselves that England means to treat India as a mere pawn in her military and diplomatic enterprises, a close preserve for the classes, and a happy hunting ground for the white adventurer. They have persuaded themselves that our rulers wish to exclude us for all time from all the higher offices and from all share in the administration of the country. They have persuaded themselves that it is idle to expect any concessions from our rulers. Look, they say, at Ireland, look at your own country, and you will be sick and weary of all the hollow words which have been uttered and all the hollow promises which have been made; for is not the Queen's Proclamation associated only with frustrated hopes and unredeemed pledges? In a word, they have persuaded themselves that our rulers wish to keep us in long clothes in a state of perpetual tutelage. For my part, I decline to believe anything of the kind. But I ask, is there no excuse for the pessimism of those misguided young men whose hearts are sick with hope deferred? Might they not cite in their defence not the irresponsible criticisms of 'failed' lieutenant-governors or American and French travellers, but the responsible utterances of statesmen like the late Lord Salisbury and of Viceroys like the late Lord Lytton. Mind, I am not going to defend these persons, but only endeavouring to account for their bitter attitude towards a government which, whatever may be its errors or shortcomings, has conferred untold blessings on the country.

DELIVERER, NOT CONQUERER.

Many things are possible. One thing, however, is to me inconceivable. I can never believe that England will

ever retrace her steps or forget her duty to India, where she came not as a conqueror; those who speak of the conquest of India by a mere handful of Englishmen cannot have read history, which does not record any authentic miracles, where she came not, I repeat, as a conqueror, but as a deliverer with the ready acquiescence of the people, to 'heal and to settle,' to substitute order and good government for disorder and anarchy, to fit 'stone to stone again', and restore that edifice which had been slowly and painfully built up by the wisest and best of Indian sovereigns. That task has now been accomplished, white winged peace now broods over the whole land; and it only remains for England now to fit us gradually for that autonomy which she has granted to her colonies. Then and not till then will the mission of England in India be accomplished and the glorious dream of Akbar realised—a dream which did not, I am sure, issue from the gate of ivory. Then and not till then will the bar-sinister be removd.—that badge of inferiority and subjection which must chafe and gall men who have been nourished on the glorious literature of England,—that literature which, as the founder of English education in India justly boasted, had taught France the principles of liberty, and which must carry with it wherever it spreads a love of British virtues and of British freedom.

ENGLAND'S MISSION IS LOVE.

Great is the destiny of England, but equally great are her responsibilities involving a sacred trust, but I am confident that the august mother of free nations, the friend of struggling nationalities and of emancipation all over the world, will rise to the height of her duty. Shall Christian England fall, below pagan Rome who, in her best days, conquered only to extend the privileges of citizenship to her subjects investing them with equal rights and equal laws, equally administered? The Romans were not inspired with the mere lust of conquest or exploitation, nor did they seek empire for new markets for their wares. They were

fired by a nobler ideal; and they had their reward in the gratitude of their contented subjects, which was as a robe and diadem to the Mistress of the World. To England more has been given and of her more will be required. And depend upon it she will not disappoint you, for the people to whom the fortunes of our country have been entrusted are generous; if somewhat impassive, and should not be judged by those Anglo-Indians who regard India as an oyster to be opened with the sword and to whom the Queen's proclamation is *anathema maranatha* and the National Congress a Frankenstein. Such men I have no hesitation in saying are false to their King and their country. But, take my word for it, their hostility to the children of the soil, though it may for a time infect the classes in England, will not deceive the great democracy which is fast rising into power.

LEARN TO LABOUR AND TO WAIT.

But you must have patience. You must learn to wait, and everything will come to you in time. Remember the long and arduous struggle in England before the Catholics were emancipated or the Test Acts were repealed. Remember the great fight which Cobden had to fight for the repeal of the corn laws. Remember the public agitation and the ferment before the first Reform Act was passed. Remember, too, how very slowly the Irish church fell and the long-continued agitation before the Irish land laws were reformed, and when you hear the English described as a nation of shop-keepers, do not forget that they spent 20 millions to emancipate the slave. Our difficulties are very much greater, for we have not only to face class prejudices, but also the prejudices so hard to die, of race, of religion, and of colour, for we are unhappily in every sense aliens. But do not be discouraged, do not despair. There is not the least cause for despondency. Have confidence in yourselves and also in the good faith of England; and do not, I pray you, be led away by the passions of the moment; and when you are met by calumnies

and lies, console yourselves with the reflection that the just claims of the great body of the English people have been similarly met by the party of privilege and supremacy and a subservient Press.

THE GRAVE OF BUREAUCRACY IS DIGGING.

Remember that in Mr. Morley we have a most sympathetic Secretary of State and in Lord Minto an equally smypathetic Viceroy, imbued, if I may say without impertinence, with a strong sense of justice, who, though he may possibly think that some of our aspirations are premature, will not, I am certain, sneer them down or treat them with levity, which cuts deeper than the surgeon's knife or the sword. We have also friends in England who are devoted to our cause. But perhaps the most hopeful sign is the increased interest which the English public at home are taking in the affairs of this country. The appointment again of Mr. Morrison to the India Council marks a new departure which is full of promise, and foreshadows the doom of bureaucracy in India; for the new member is free from the narrowness and excessive self-esteem which are the notes of the bureaucrat, who is under the delusion "that the elaborate machinery of which he forms a part and from which he derives his dignity is a grand and achieved result and not a mere working and changeable instrument"; and whose overweening conceit cannot be cured even by the King of Babylon's famous treatment which was so successful with the satrap Irax. Mr. Morley is now engaged in digging the grave of bureaucracy; and we can almost hear the thud of the spade and the music, yes, the music of the knell. Brother Delegates, be of good cheer, for, lo! the winter is almost past, the rain is over and gone, and the flowers begin to appear on the earth.

THE LESSON OF OUR GRAND OLD MAN.

But if the present situation in India calls for the exercise of statemanship of the highest order, it also calls for the

exercise of great moderation on our part. And we are all glad to welcome Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that tried friend of India. as President of the 22nd Session of the Indian National Congress. Though he has already considerably exceeded the years allotted to man, he accepted our invitation with an alacrity which ought to be a lesson to us all. Age has not withered, the dust of daily life has not choked the courage, energy, enthusiasm, high purpose and self-devotion which have throughout characterised our Grand Old Man. I see many in this assembly distinguished by their zeal and devotion, not less than by their ripe wisdom and experience, faithful patriots who have been working for their country with hearts that never failed and courage that never faltered, fighting amid obloquy and sneers, and not unfrequently under the frowns of men in authority. But it is no disparagement to those gentlemen to say that there is not one among them who has a greater, a longer or a more brilliant record than Dadabhai Naoroji. Words are too weak to express our doubt to the man who in his eighty-second year has ventured a long journey to give us at a critical time the benefit of his wise counsel without the hope of any reward other than the consolation which will cheer him in the evening of his days, that to the very last he was faithful to his country and to the National Congress. And if is true that the sunset of life gives us mystic lore, we shall hear from his lips the future destiny of the country he loved so well and for which he has at our invitation risked everything, ease, health, nay. life itself. He will tell us not to despair, but to confide in the honesty and good faith of England. He will tell us that a great Empire and mean thinking go ill together, and that the pinchbeck imperialists who think that Kipling is greater than Shakespeare or Milton and who can explain away the Queen's proclamation do not represent either the best intelligence or the conscience of England.

TRUE AND FALSE IMPERIALISTS.

I said pinchbeck imperialists, for imperialism in its best and truest sense does not mean privilege and supremacy but good government and equal rights. It was this spirit which inspired Chatham when he pleaded for the better government of India and Ireland. It was this spirit which sustained Burke in that famous trial which has made his name familiar as a household word in India. It was this imperial spirit which inspired Palmerston when he thrilled the heart of England with the proud boast that as the Roman in the days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say *Civis Romanus Sum*, so also a British subject in whatever land he may be shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong. It was this spirit which inspired Gladstone in our day when he sought to redress the wrongs of Ireland. It was this spirit which inspired Bright when he pleaded for the better government of India. But the pinchbeck imperialism which is fast going out of fashion in England is made up of barbarous ambitions, passions and sentiments wholly alien to the culture and civilization of the twentieth century. To these brummagem imperialists I would say: Do not misread the signs of the times; do not be deluded by theories of racial inferiority. The choice lies before you between a contented people proud to be the citizens of the greatest empire the world has ever seen and another Ireland in the East or I am uttering no idle threat, I am not speaking at random, for I know something of the present temper of the rising generation in Bengal, perhaps another Russia. To my mind—but Mr. MacLeod, who, I believe, is not a countryman of Oliver Cromwell, will say it is impossible for a Bengalee to think imperially—to my mind the choice is not difficult to make, and I am confident every true son of England who is jealous of the honour of his country will make the better choice. Indeed, though certain recent events might seem to belie it, he made that

choice long go; for he knows that though the world is indebted for many things to England, true home of free institutions, her best title to glory will be the words that are familiar to every schoolboy in India, that she has so ruled a people once great as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens. I have also a word of warning and counsel for some of my younger countrymen. I would say to them in the words of Marcus Aurelius, "Hope not for the republic of Plato; but be content with ever so small an advance, and look on even that as a gain worth having"; and I beseech them, though they may be goaded to madness by abuse and slander, not to be betrayed into an attack on the honour or good faith of England, for as our present Secretary of State tells us in his Life of Gladstone, though the plain people of England are inspired by a sense of fair play which is indeed ingrained in the English character, they will refuse even the shadow of a concession if you assail the greatness or integrity of their country.

OUR CORDIAL WELCOME.

Brother Delegates, allow me, before I sit down, to repeat my welcome, and to express our sense of the honour you have done us by accepting our hospitality. You have no doubt heard a good deal of our internal dissensions which our enemies have artfully tried to inflame. But I can assure you that whatever may be our difference, it does not affect the cordiality of our welcome to you, our friends and countrymen, who have manfully stood by us in our trials as brother should by brother, to the discomfiture and confusion of those who have sought to set class against class, race against race and religion against religion. These men have failed. They were bound to fail, because great but silent forces are at work which no earthly power, or I will not use the epithet which rises to my lips but merely say human cunning, can arrest; a national life has commenced which is growing more and more vigorous every day, and this great assembly in which

every province is represented is the best answer to those who still have the hardihood to assert that India is a mere geographical expression. It is said that our country is a mere medley of races, of religions and opposing interests, and that the only tie which binds the Maharatta and the Madrassi, the Sikh and the Bengali, is that of common obedience to their rulers. But the same thing used to be said of Germany and Italy, but both have now become great and powerful nations. Whether the same good fortune awaits us is in the lap of the gods. But the men of England, rely upon it, will never knowingly attempt to avert or delay it by even a single day.

NEED OF AN IDEAL.

To those who say that our aspirations are premature my answer is the ideal is not bound by time, and that life itself would be an idle tale without meaning if we are not sustained by the hope of leaving our country better than we found it. In the words of a living English writer who calls himself a Meliorist, "Without ideals there would be no hope, and without hope, neither religion, nor aspiration, nor energy, nor good work. A true ideal is no dream nor idle fantasy. It is the justification of study, and the motive of all useful endeavour".—*Bande Mataram.*

THANKS TO DADABHAI.

MR. LAL MOHUN GHOSE.

MR. LAL MOHAN GHOSE, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, said:—Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Mr. President, fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I have, in the first place, to ask your indulgence, because I am suffering from a bad cold, and I do not know how far my voice may reach. But I can say this, that of all the various tasks that have fallen to the lot of the different speakers that have addressed you at this session of the Congress, the most pleasant and grateful task has fallen to my lot. I am about to propose to you the Resolution about which there can be no contention or controversy, nor even the shade of a shadow of doubt. My path being thus clear and smooth before me, I perhaps may be permitted to have the liberty of saying a few words on the general political situation before I move the Resolution. Gentlemen, I do not belong to any particular political party, and certainly to no faction. (Hear, hear.) I refuse to recognise in India any political party, except the party which desires to seek the interests of our common country and to promote our national regeneration. (Applause.) But if, nevertheless, you choose to say that our older men belong to the moderate party, I mean the party which believes in constitutional agitation, then I shall unhesitatingly declare I belong to that party. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, Gentlemen, I must say, I have observed with regret that there has been a disposition in certain quarters to treat constitutional agitation with contempt. (Cries of "no".) You disclaim this, and I should be glad if you disclaimed it. I believe you, all of you, belong to the united party. I cannot forget that constitutional agitation has been described as a "mendicant policy". I see before me here (looking at Mr. A. Chaudhuri), an old friend of mine, young in years, but old in wisdom; he was the author of that sonorous phrase. (Laughter.) But almost in the same breath he told me that he was a believer in constitutional agitation. I am no reader

of riddles and conundrums. Having regard to the fact that prayers and petitions are the only outcome of constitutional agitation, I leave him to reconcile what to a simple-minded man like myself (laughter) appears to be a contradiction in terms. (Renewed laughter.) I can only say this, we, the older men, have striven all through our lives to do our duties, to fight the political battles of our country, to the best of our abilities and to the best of our lives. Why only say this? If we can take to ourselves no other credit, we may at least take to ourselves this credit, that in the evening of our lives we have the satisfaction of seeing that our efforts have succeeded to a large extent in welding together our various communities. (Cheers.) We have also succeeded, to a very large extent, in creating sentiments of a common nationality and common interests. A question is frequently asked in various forms, which resolves itself into this. Have you advanced or retrograded since the commencement of political agitation? Although we have had disappointments, and our venerable President has told us "bitter disappointments", still I must say the history of the constitutional agitation in this country has not been a record of unchequered failures and disasters. (Applause.) I am not any more frightened by mere words than by mere shadow. I put it, if we have a starving mother at home and we have no money in our pocket, would any one in this assembly be ashamed to beg? So shall we be more ashamed to beg for the common mother, the land which has given us birth? (Cries of "no" and applause.) I can give you more instances than one in which we have succeeded. The superior person, Lord Curzon, our late Viceroy here, was not the only reactionary Viceroy who was sent out to India. Like other infections, as plague, pestilence, famine and other visitations, which have affected us as punishment for our national sins, I remember that Lord Lytton in the latter seventies introduced, like the Universities Act, the Press Act, which was to repress the liberty of the Press.

That Act was passed at a single sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council. Within a couple of hours it became a "settled fact". But how long did it remain? Thanks to political agitation, within a couple of years it was expunged from the statute book. We desire to have a share in the local affairs and the legislation of the country: we had the satisfaction of seeing our desires fulfilled. Thanks to the same constitutional agitation, the Local Government Act was passed by a Liberal Viceroy—by no less a person than Lord Ripon. (Loud cheers.) The India Council Act was passed by the British Parliament under a Conservative Government. These are our laurels, at which we must look with some consolation. Gentlemen, many of us at this place, like myself, have come here without breakfast. Therefore I do not wish to detain you any longer. Now I shall proceed to the pleasant task, which has fallen to my lot, namely, to offer a hearty vote of thanks to our esteemed and venerable President. (Loud cheers.) He has laid us under a lasting and deep obligation by coming here all the way from Europe, at this advanced age, to undertake the onerous duty of presiding over this non-official but "National Parliament". (Cheers.) He has conducted his duties with united firmness, tact and courtesy, which I for my own part, if I may quote the words of Gibbon, "look upon with envy". At a period of life when most of us, if we at all be happy to live to that age, shall like to lie down in an arm-chair in our hearths and home, he has, with wisdom unclouded, eyes undimmed, energy unabated, zeal unflagging, shown us an example of patriotism which the rest of our countrymen will, from a humble distance, imitate. I doubt not, if it pleases God, and our venerable President is spared to us for some years more, he will be to us like a beacon in a stormy sea. (Loud applause.) And we shall be within sight of the harbour light. (Cheers.) This Resolution requires no seconding. I beg to put it to you, and I hope you will carry it with acclamation. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's Reply.

MR. NAOROJI, in reply to the vote of thanks offered to him, said :—Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose and my dear friends,—It is impossible, I think, for any man to respond adequately to the ovation that has been given me by the gentlemen as well as ladies in such a marked manner. I say it is impossible for me to make an adequate response to such an ovation. I accept it as an encouragement and with the greatest pleasure. If any man wish to be rewarded for any services which he may have done to his own country, there can be no reward greater than the one you have accorded to me. (Cheers.) I am not going to inflict upon you a speech on either political or any other matter. All I can say now is that the labours of the past 50 years for the establishment of this vast Association have not been in vain. If there is no other result, the 22nd Session of the Indian National Congress has produced this result, namely, that it has given a new start. (Cheers.) It has placed before the people one goal, "A Clear Star", that of Self-Government. (Applause.) This is the result for which young and old have been enthusiastic. I think the past generations had done their duties towards their country. It rests upon the shoulders of the rising generation, whom I ask with great pleasure to be enthusiastic and give a poking to us from time to time. I am so pleased that I regard the Resolution as the best result of the political work upon which we are decided. I hope young and old will both work harmoniously together. I could not have, for the performance of my duties, greater reward than the reception which has been accorded to me. I return thanks from the bottom of my heart.

THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

H. H. THE GAEKWAR'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT, DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It was only last month, on my return from a tour in Europe and America, that your able and energetic Secretary, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, called on me, and conveyed to me the Industrial Committee's unanimous request that I should attend this Conference and deliver an Inaugural Address. I naturally felt some hesitation in acceding to this request, partly because of the pressure of administrative work owing to my recent return from a foreign tour, and partly because I am aware that there are others who are better qualified than myself to advise you in the noble work which you have undertaken.

But, Gentlemen, your Secretary was not to be put off by these reasons. He pressed me to accede to the request of the Industrial Committee, and was good enough to assure me that by so doing I would be rendering some service to the great cause which we all have at heart. To this argument I felt it my duty to yield. I feel very strongly that to help in the industrial movement of the present day is a duty which devolves on all of us equally.

Whatever be our vocations in life, we cannot be untrue to this duty without being untrue to ourselves and our country. And I feel to-day, as I have always felt and declared, that our interests are one and the same: whatever helps and elevates you, helps and elevates us; whatever retards your progress retards ours. And, furthermore, I am strongly convinced that our activities in all different departments of life, political, social and industrial, are so correlated that we

shall never make any marked progress in one without making similar progress in all.

The three seemingly diverse currents of intellectual activity converge towards the same head-works and feed the same main stream of life. Unless we extend our horizon and take a less parochial view, we can ill-understand the value and place of each of these component parts in the great machinery of progress.

PAST HISTORY.

Gentlemen, I do not propose to take much of your time with an account of the industries of India in the ancient times, but a brief reference to some notable facts will perhaps not be unsuitable on an occasion like this. You are all aware that India was famed for her cotton fabrics from very ancient times; and antiquarians tell us that Indian cotton found its way to Assyria and Babylon in the remote past. Indigo, which is peculiarly an Indian produce, has been detected by the microscope in Egyptian mummy cloths, and Indian ivory and other articles were probably imported into ancient Egypt. There can be little doubt that the old Phœnicians carried on a brisk trade with India, and much of the spices and precious stones, ebony, gold and embroidered work, with which they supplied the Western world, came from India.

The Greeks rose in civilization at a later date; and Herodotus, generally called the Father of History, speaks of Indian cotton as "wool growing on trees, more beautiful and valuable than that produced from sheep".

A brisk trade between India and the Western world was carried on during the centuries preceding the Christian era, and as Rome rose in power and importance, and Alexandria became a flourishing mart, the trade increased in volume. Silk threads, sapphires, indigo and cotton fabrics were exported from the mouths of the Indus; and the important sea-port town of Broach, then called Bharukatcha

by the Hindus, and Barygaza by the Romans, imported gold, silver and other metals, glass, corals and perfumes; and exported precious stones, muslins, cotton fabrics, ivory, ebony, pepper and silk.

The Roman Empire declined after the third century. An Eastern Empire was founded with its new capital at Constantinople, and that place attracted to itself much of the Asiatic trade which used to flow before through Alexandria.

India was the scene of frequent invasions during the centuries succeeding the Christian era, and Scythians and Huns desolated her western provinces. But a great chief and warrior, known to our literature under the name of Vikramaditya, at last turned back the tide of invasion, and India was virtually free from foreign raids from the sixth to the tenth century. It was within this period that Chinese travellers, Fa Hian, Houen Tsang, and others visited India as religious pilgrims, admired the arts, industries, and manufactures, and wrote on the Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries, which existed side by side in every large town. Hindu traders founded settlements in Java and the other islands; and it was in a Hindu ship, sailing from Tamralipti or Tamlook, that Fa Hian left India. Those of you who have been to Europe and visited the continental towns may have seen images of Hindu gods and goddesses in the Museum of Leyden, taken there by the Dutch from Java, where Hindu religion and learning were introduced by traders and settlers from India.

Venice was the channel of trade with India after the close of the dark ages; but the glory of Venice departed with the discovery of a new route to India round the Cape by Vasco de Gama about the close of the fifteenth century, and Portugal rose in power and commerical enterprise as Venice declined. In the sixteenth century, all the southern seaboard of Asia as far as China was practically under the commercial control of Portugal. But the Dutch replaced the

Portuguese in the seventeenth century, and, like the latter, enriched themselves by the Indian trade. Likewise the English appeared on the scene a little later and wrested from the Dutch a large share of the Eastern trade in the eighteenth century. It is remarkable that, within the last thousand years, nation after nation in Europe has risen to power and to great wealth mainly through the Eastern trade. Constantinople, Venice, Portugal, Holland and England have successively been the carriers to Europe of the rich manufactures of India, as the Phœnicians and the Arabs were in the ancient times.

When England obtained territorial possessions in India in the eighteenth century, her commercial policy towards India was the same as her policy towards Ireland and her American Colonies. Her aim and endeavour was to obtain raw produce from her dependencies and to develop manufacturing industry in England. She repressed manufactures elsewhere by unequal tariffs in order to develop her own manufactures. The American Colonies freed themselves from this industrial servitude when they declared their independence; but both Ireland and India suffered. Industries in both these countries steadily declined early in the nineteenth century; manufacturing industries progressed by leaps and bounds in England, and the invention of the power-loom completed her industrial triumph.

Since then England has slowly adopted a fair and equitable commercial policy and repealed Navigation Acts and unequal tariffs. And to-day England stands forth a pre-eminent free trader to all the world; and this brings me, Gentlemen, to the industrial history of India of our own times.

PRESENT SITUATION.

The triumph of machinery has been the triumph of our age: the victory of steam and electricity will always be memorable among the decisive battles of the world. The rise of power-looms, for instance, has been stealing

a march over the hand-loom workers, and the numbers employed in cotton weaving in India have declined by 23 per cent., even within the last decade. Even the ginning and the pressing of cotton has so extensively participated in the use of improved machinery that its hand workers have dwindled by fully 86 per cent. And yet it is this textile industry itself which shows how, with intelligent adaptation to the improved methods of art, our Indian industries can compete with the manufactures of Europe. The Bombay mills give daily employment to about 1,70,000 factory operatives, while so many as 30,000 more are maintained by the ginning presses. Some forty years ago we had only 13 cotton mills in all India. The number rose to 47 in 1876, to 95 in 1886, to 155 in 1895, and to 203 in 1904; and to-day the number of our cotton mills is still larger. We had less than 4,000 power-looms forty years ago: the number was over 47,000 in 1904. We had less than 3,00,000 spindles 40 years ago: the number exceeded five millions in 1904. These are insignificant figures compared with the huge cotton industry of Lancashire; but they show that we have made steady progress, and that we may fairly hope to make greater progress in the future if we are true to our aims and our own interests. Our annual produce of yarn is nearly six hundred million lbs. in weight; and it is interesting to note that out of this total outturn about 30 per cent. is used mostly by our hand-loom weavers.

Gentlemen, it is with a legitimate pride that the Indian patriot marks this silent progress in the mill and hand-loom industries of India, which, next to agriculture, are the largest industries in this land. New mills have been started in Ahmedabad and Bombay within the last two years, largely as a result of the present *Swadeshi* movement. In the poor State of Baroda, too, this progress is marked. For more than twenty years the State worked a cotton mill in the capital town to give an object-lesson to the people and to encourage private companies to start similar mills. The call has now

been accepted, and a private company has at last been formed, and has purchased the State mill from our hand with the happiest results. Recently a second mill has been completed, and is about to start work, and a third mill is now under construction. More than this, the number of ginning factories, and other factories using steam, has multiplied all over the State, and the number of hand-looms has doubled in some towns. All the courser counts of yarn in the Indian markets are now mostly of local spinning; an insignificant fraction alone being imported from abroad. In the case of yarn of higher counts, however, the local manufacture falls much below the supply of the foreign mills. Muslin and finer fabrics can be imported much more cheaply, and in a more pleasing variety of design and colour, than can yet be locally produced; and the hand-looms of the East, once so far-famed for the *finesse* of their fabrics, have now dwindled into small importance. Prints and *chintz* from France, England and Germany are still extensively imported to meet not only the local demand, but also the demand of markets across the Indian Frontier in Persia and Afghanistan.

Thus, though there is reason for congratulation in the rise of our textile industries, there is yet greater reason for continued toil and earnest endeavour. We are still at the very threshold of success. Our cotton mills produced less than 600 million yards of cloth last year against over 2,000 million yards which we imported from other countries. Here is scope for indefinite expansion. We exported cotton of the value of 213 millions to foreign countries, and imported in return for this raw material cotton manufactures of the value of 390 millions. We are thus producing only a fourth of the mill-made cloth which the nation requires. And we should not rest till we are able to manufacture practically the total supply needed by our countrymen.

Gentlemen, the remarks I have made about the cotton industry of India apply to some extent to the other indus-

tries which require the use of steam. Bengal is known for its jute industry, which I believe is increasing year by year, and the number of jute mills has increased from 28 in 1895 to 38 in 1904. Northern India and the Punjab have some six woollen factories, whose produce has increased from $2\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds in weight in 1895 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds in 1904, and I have every hope that our countrymen, who have been so successful in cotton industry, will broaden the sphere of their operations, and take to jute and woollen industries also.

The silk industry is one of the most ancient industries of India, but declined like other ancient industries under the repressive commercial policy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Some faint signs of improvement are, however, visible now. Tassar silk is manufactured in many parts of India, and quantities of it are exported to Europe. In Assam, silk still continues to be the national dress of women, and each family weaves silk *saris* for *its* own use. In Bengal some improvements have been recently effected by the adoption of scientific methods of testing the seed. In the Punjab the attempt to re-introduce the cultivation of silk worms has not been attended with marked success. In Kashmir the industry is indigenous, and the State is endeavouring to develop it. Much attention is paid to this industry in the advanced and enlightened State of Mysore. And in the State of Baroda I have been endeavouring to spread and develop the industry. The number of these filatures in India in 1904 was only 75, and the number of silk mills was only 11; but much silk is also produced as a cottage industry.

Gentlemen, so far I have confined myself to the textile industries; and I have scarcely time to refer at any length to the other industries of India. Brass and copper have been used for vessels in India from ancient times, but have been threatened lately by the cheap enamelled ironware of Europe. Aluminium is a new industry, and we are indebted to Mr. Chatterton of Madras for greatly developing it in India.

Recent geological surveys and investigations have brought to light the rich ore of iron which was lying concealed so long in Central India; and there is a great scope for the development of the iron industry. Veins of iron ore are believed to exist in several places besides those where they have been yet explored; and if only a few more enterprising companies like my friend Mr. Tata's spring up and prospect these mines, they have a hopeful future before them. If the quality of the indigenous coal is only improved and the means of communication made more easy and cheap, so as to considerably reduce the cost of transport, it would appear more profitable to smelt our iron in our own furnaces, rather than import large quantities from abroad. I am glad to find that the able geologist who discovered suitable iron ore for Mr. Tata's scheme, Mr. P.N. Bose, has been selected by your Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference. The scheme is still under the consideration of Mr. Tata's son, whom I had the pleasure of recently meeting in England. There were 89 iron foundries in India in 1904, and it is to be hoped that the number will rapidly increase in the near future.

Bengal is rich in coalfields, and out of the 8 millions of tons of coal, worth about 2 crores of rupees, raised in all India in 1904, no less than 7 millions of tons were raised in Bengal. These will seem to you to be large figures; but what are 8 millions of tons compared with considerably over 200 million tons annually raised in England? Our countrymen are engaged to some extent in coal-mining, though greatly hampered in the endeavour both by want of capital and want of technical knowledge, and I am glad the Indian Government have granted scholarships to some young Indians to learn practical coal-mining in England. The importance of coal consists in this—that its abundance makes every other industry on a large scale possible. Coal and iron have been the making of modern England, more than any other causes.

These are the principal industries of India carried on mainly by steam, and for facility of reference I have put down the figures relating to them and a few other industries in a tabular form below :—

	1895.	1904.
Cotton Mills ...	148	203
Jute Mills ...	28	38
Woollen Mills ..	5	6
Cotton ginning, cleaning and Press Mills ...	610	951
Flour Mills ...	72	42
Rice Mills .	87	127
Sugar Factories	247	28
Silk Filatures . .	89	75
Silk Mills	28	11
Tanneries	60	35
Oil Mills	163	112
Lac Factories .	138	128
Iron and Brass Foundries ...	64	89
Indigo Factories	8,225	422

These figures will show you at a glance our present situation in relation to the principal industries carried on by steam in India. In some industries, like cotton, we are only at the very threshold of success, and produce only about a fourth of what we ought to produce. In other industries, like woollen and jute, we are indebted almost entirely to European capital and enterprise; we ourselves have scarcely made a beginning as yet. In a third class of industries, like sugar and tanneries, we have actually lost ground within the last ten years. While in a fourth class of industries, like iron, we are still almost wholly dependent on Europe, the produce of our own foundries scarcely supplying any appreciable proportion of the requirements of India. I repeat, therefore, what I have already said before: there is ground for hope but not for joy or elation ; there are strong reasons for earnest and continued endeavour in the future to secure that success which we are bound to achieve if we are true to ourselves.

And there is one more fact which I would like to impress on you in concluding this brief survey of our present situation.

A great deal of attention is naturally paid to the mill industries of India, and to tea, indigo, coffee and other industries in which European capital is largely employed. We know, however, that the labourers who can possibly be employed in mills and factories form only an insignificant proportion of the industrial population of India. Very much the larger portion of that industrial population is engaged in indigenous industries carried on in village homes and bazaars. India is, and will always remain, a country of cottage industries. Where hundreds of thousands can work in mills and factories, millions and tens of millions work in their own huts; and the idea of greatly improving the condition of the labourers of India merely by adding to mills and factories is only possible for those who form their opinions six thousand miles away. No, Gentlemen; any comprehensive plan of improving the condition of our industrial classes must seek to help the dwellers in cottages. It is the humble weavers in towns and villages, the poor braziers and coppersmiths working in their sheds, the resourceless potters and ironsmiths and carpenters who follow their ancestral vocations in their ancestral homes, who form the main portion of the industrial population, and who demand our sympathy and help. It is they (more than the agriculturists, or the mill and factory labourers) that are most impoverished in these days and are the first victims to famines; and if your *Swadeshi* movement has brought some relief to these obscure and unnoticed millions and tens of millions in India, as I have reason to believe it has done to a perceptible extent, if it has created a larger demand for their manufactures, widened the sphere of their labours, and brought some light to their dark and cheerless homes, then the movement, Gentlemen, has my cordial sympathy. Help and encourage the large industries, but foster and help also the humbler industries in which tens of millions of village artisans are engaged and the people of India, as well as those who are engaged in the work of administration, will bless your work.

DIFFICULTIES AND HOW TO OVERCOME THEM.

Gentlemen, in saying all this, I do not by any means ignore or minimise our difficulties. We have to recover the ground which we have lost during the last two centuries. We, in our ignorance and poverty, have to compete with some of the richest, best trained and most skilful nations on earth. We, with our ancient methods, have to habituate ourselves to modern inventions, and then to beat those modern nations who made those inventions. It is a duel with Western nations with weapons of their own choosing; and with those weapons with which we are still unfamiliar, we must face and conquer those who are past masters in their use. With the produce of our infant mills and our infant iron foundries we must oppose the overwhelming flood of manufactured goods which England, Germany and America are pouring into India.

The danger of extinction with which our industries are threatened is therefore imminent. Keep to your conservative methods, cling to your orthodox ways of work, and your industries must perish. Such is the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest and such the admonition which a true Swadeshi movement ought to give you. If the rush of the steam engine and the whiz of electricity, combined with cheap and easy means of transport, have succeeded in dumping your bazaars with the cheap and attractive products of foreign marts, rise to the occasion and learn how to withstand this inroad with intelligent anticipation and skilful adaptation. Learn to force nature into a corner; accost her and bring out her immost secrets. Harness her powers, tackle her energies, and make of her a handmaid unto man. Work nature to the relief of man's estate. Any competition between skill, capital and organised enterprise on the one hand, and ignorance, idleness and poverty on the other, can only have one result. Learn to combine and co-operate, learn the value of time and the use of money, and the chances of a fairer fight will eventually requite all your efforts.

Swadeshism can be a genuine economic force under the above conditions. It can be a potent weapon of usefulness if properly understood. There is no economic fallacy in that Swadeshi creed that aims at improving the indigenous arts. The genuine Swadeshi ought to secure the maximum of production at the minimum of cost. Patriotism demands that the greater cost and the slight discomfort of using indigenous goods should be cheerfully put up with at the outset. But remember that no such movement can be permanently successful unless it involves a determined effort to improve their quality and cheapen their cost, so as to compete successfully with foreign products. The most rigid economist will then have no flaw to find in your Swadeshi armour.

A single instance of the pitiable straits to which our industries have been reduced, on account of the difficulties mentioned above, will suffice. The export trade of Indian cane-sugar has now become almost a matter of past history. The invasion of German and Austro-Hungarian beet-root sugar has driven away Indian sugar from its own stronghold. In spite of the imposition of countervailing duties and extra tariffs the bounty-fed sugar from Europe beats the Indian refiner hollow on his own field; and it is curious to observe how the cane-sugar of India has suffered in the struggle. The reason is not far to seek. Laws can cure only artificial anomalies; the levy of extra duties can countervail only the adventitious advantage of bounties and subsidies; but what can remedy causes of mischief that lie deeper, ingrained in the very constitution of the Indian grower and inherent in the very conditions under which the Indian refiner has to work? The demand for consumption of Indian sugar is large enough; it is even larger than the local refiners can supply; yet the cost of production is so excessively inflated that it pays more to import the cheap beet-sugar, grown fat on foreign bounties, than to bring the products of her own growing into her markets. The growers and refiners pursue a process involving extravagant waste of raw material: and

ignorant of the latest inventions of science or art, they adhere to the methods inherited from their sires with a hide-bound orthodoxy.

The same deficiency in improved methods and perfected machinery has also led to the ruin of the tanning industry of Madras. The curing and tanning of skins by an improved process in America has been found more suitable and more economical than the purchase of skins tanned in India. Similarly the manufacture of synthetic indigo, like other coal tar preparations, has effected a revolution in agricultural chemistry; and the quantities of artificial indigo that the German factories have dumped into the markets of the world at very cheap rates have a very depressing influence on the indigo trade of Bengal. The exports of indigo which in 1895 amounted to about 53 millions in value, dwindled down to the low figure of 6 millions 10 years later, and the decline has been so rapid that it has been a cause of alarm to an optimist of even a thorough Micawber type. Dyes of no less value than 75 lakhs of rupees were poured into the Indian vats from Germany, Belgium, and Holland in 1905; and these products of aniline and alizarine dyes have completely ousted the Indian dyers from their own markets.

It thus becomes imperative on all of us to endeavour to minimise this helplessness and enrich the industrial resources of our country. The trade returns of India are an instructive study. They tell us that in 1905, fully 69 per cent. of our exports were represented by bulky agricultural produce, which gave no employment to local skill and capital, save that employed in tillage. With regard to the total imports in that year, on the other hand, fully 59 per cent. of the entire amount represented manufactured articles, with reference to which we did not know how to supply our own wants, and had to depend upon foreign skill, foreign capital, and foreign enterprise. A fair criterion of the industrial development of a country may safely be sought in the proportion of its exports of manufactured goods to the ex-

port of raw material from the country; and secondly, in the proportion of its imports of raw material to the imports of made up or finished goods. The industrial prosperity of a country may be said roughly to vary directly with its exports of manufactures and imports of raw material; and inversely with its exports of raw produce and imports of manufactured goods. This is a safe and reliable canon of industrial economics. One more sad and prominent feature of the foreign trade of India is the constant excess of exports over imports which is not conducive to the prosperity of the people.

Our serfdom to foreign capital and to foreign enterprise can scarcely be more complete. Our railways are financed by capital from Europe; our mines are exploited by savants from America, and even in our daily household needs our dependence upon products of foreign marts continues from day to day. We are being fed and clothed, diverted and entertained, lighted and washed, warmed and comforted, carried and housed, by the foreign artisan. Our arts and industries are standing to-day on the brink of a precipice and are threatened with imminent extinction. The problem of saving the country from this perilous plight, and emancipating her economic slavery to the nations from the West, has become the one topic of absorbing interest; and to find out a cure for this malady has become the one anxious thought of every patriot and of every statesman. You, Gentlemen, have already bestowed your earnest attention to this subject, and I need therefore only make mention of the industries which appear to me to be capable of great progress in the immediate future. The list is appended below:—

1. The textile industry.
2. Carpenters and other wood work.
3. Iron, copper and brass works.
4. Work in gold and silver and jewellery.
5. Masonry and stone works.
6. Pottery and brick and tile making.
7. Dyeing.
8. Tannery and leather works.

9. Rope weaving.
10. Cane and bamboo works, mat making and basket weaving.
11. Glass works.
12. Turnery and lac works.
13. Horn and ivory carving.
14. Embroidery.
15. Sugar refinery.
16. Tobacco curing, and
17. Oil and flour mills.

Out of these industries we might select, to begin with, those for which there is a large demand in our home markets, and whose raw material we have been at present exporting in ship loads for working them into finished products abroad. In the place of large exports of raw vegetable products our endeavour should be to send out large cargoes of manufactured and finished goods. In 1905 we exported oil seeds of the value of 106 millions of rupees, and imported oil of the value of 22 millions. Our oil factories in the Bombay Presidency are said to have supported only 76 operatives at the last census. There is an indefinite scope for the expansion of this manufacturing industry in the country. Oil pressers have diminished by 47 per cent. during the last decade, as it was found more profitable to export oil-seeds and import pressed oil from abroad, than to press it at home by crude and antiquated processes. Besides, as Dr. Voelcker has pointed out to us, to export the entire oil-seed is to export the soil's fertility.

Moreover, every year we export large quantities of wheat and other grain to be ground in foreign mills and import large quantities of flour for our use; while the wheat grinding mills in the Bombay Presidency afford no employment to more than 78 operatives, as the figure for the last census informs us. These are instances of the low state of our industries and of the difficulties under which they suffer. It should be your aim and endeavour to face and conquer these difficulties, and a wise and sympathetic legislation should help your effort and lead you to success.

Four years ago I made some remarks at Ahmedabad which, with your permission, I will repeat to-day.

"Famine, increasing poverty, widespread disease—all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system, and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another aspect of the matter, and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as people. *It is our last chance.*

"Fail there, and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker,—more dependent on foreign help. We must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master.

"Solve that problem, and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of your ancestors and of your old position among nations".

These are words which I spoke at Ahmedabad and I repeat them to-day, because we feel the importance of them, perhaps, more than we felt four years ago. We are at a crisis in our national history. The time has come, when we must make arduous and united endeavours for securing our industrial independence, or we shall sink again, perhaps for centuries to come. We must struggle and maintain our ancient position among the industrial nations of the earth, or we shall be betraying a sacred trust and be false to our posterity.

I am sure you will not accuse me of exaggerating the gravity of the present situation. I am sure you all feel, as I feel, that if we do not, at the present critical time, free ourselves from that industrial serfdom into which we have allowed ourselves to sink, we have no hope for the future. This, as I said before, is *our last chance.*

EXHIBITIONS AND CONFERENCES.

And now, Gentlemen, you will permit me to say a few words with regard to the work you have undertaken and the methods by which it can best be done. At a critical juncture

in our country's industrial history, the Indian National Congress conceived the *happy* idea of having an Industrial Exhibition in connection with their annual gatherings. From the very first, the Indian and the Provincial Governments rendered every assistance in their power to make these Industrial Exhibitions a success; and, I may add that all classes of the Indian population, Hindus and Mahomedans, Englishmen and Parsis, merchants and manufacturers, graduates, rich landlords and humble citizens, have worked harmoniously towards this common object. These annual exhibitions fulfil a double purpose. First they inspire manufacturers with healthy emulation, and enable them to make the products of the different provinces known to all India; and in the second place they enable traders and dealers in articles of daily use to obtain accurate information, and collect articles from all parts of India for the use of purchasers in every province and town. These exhibitions have been a success; but let us not deceive ourselves. Compared with the wealth, the variety, the magnitude of Western products, as I have seen them abroad, the results we have achieved here are meagre indeed. An exhibition like this simply serves to emphasise our backwardness in utilizing the resources at hand. Let us never be satisfied until we attain a standard of perfection that will bear comparison with the Western world. With the sympathetic co-operation of the Government, and the quick intelligence of our people, there is no reason why such a result may not be achieved within a generation or two.

Last year, Gentlemen, you took a new departure. Not content with these annual exhibitions, you held an Industrial Conference, and the First Conference was held under the guidance and presidentship of my Revenue Minister, Mr. R. C. Dutt. The Conference arranged that its work should proceed all through the twelve months instead of being transacted once in the year. It appointed Provincial Industrial Committees at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Nagpur. And it also appointed a permanent

Secretary and Under-Secretary with head-quarters at Nagpur to compile information, to carry on correspondence, and to help the Provincial Committees in their work all through the year. I am glad to find that this central establishment has not gone to sleep over its work ; within this closing year the Secretary and Under-Secretary have collected subscriptions which have more than covered the year's expenditure ; they have published in a handy form a report of the Conference, embodying all the valuable and instructive papers which were read at the time ; and they have compiled a Directory, —not complete or exhaustive by any means but a fair beginning,—describing different industries in the different parts of India. They have also published a very interesting report of the work done during this year in all parts of India.

Gentlemen, all this is a good outturn of a first year's work, but you should not be satisfied with this. A greater progress is expected from you in future years. The weak point in the Conference organisation seems to me that the Central Office is not in sufficient touch with the Provincial Committees, and is not able to render sufficient help to those Committees to develop the industries of the different provinces. Besides Provincial Committees, you require District and even Town Associations for closer touch with the masses. India is a country of vast distances ; and it takes more than a day and a night to travel from Nagpur to some of the provinces. While the Central Office at Nagpur can do much to help the outlying provinces, the provinces can do more to help themselves. By such harmonious co-operation towards a common object, I hope to see the work of the Industrial Conference show a continued progress from year to year. A central organization is needed to co-ordinate all the endeavours that are being made in all parts of India to promote home industries ; and the Industrial Conference, with its central establishment and Provincial Committees, was not established a day too soon.

GENERAL EDUCATION.

And now, Gentlemen, I desire to place a few practical suggestions before you, such as, from my own knowledge and experience, occur to me. The first and the most important means of promoting our industries is to spread general education amongst the masses. Great and far-reaching changes might be made in the educational system of the country, and I am of opinion that no ultimate solution of our problem will be reached until schools have been provided in every village, and education is taken to the very threshold of the people; until, in fact, education, at least in its primary grades, has been made free and compulsory throughout the land. I am, indeed gratified to learn that the Government of India has already under consideration the policy of making primary education free.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

The experiment of free and compulsory education is a novel one in this country; and yet its novelty must not scare us from our duty. I am not, indeed, prepared at this time to recommend the example of some of the socialistic communities of the West in providing free breakfasts, free baths, free boots and everything else but free beds. I have, however, endeavoured to introduce compulsory education throughought the State of Baroda, and hope to see my people benefited by it. The measure was being worked with satisfactory results in one part of the State for a number of years. Emboldened by the success of this experiment, I have decided to make primary education compulsory throughout the State and absolutely free.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Of scarcely less importance at this time of the day is the need for Industrial Education. I must confess that it is my recent visit to Europe and to America that has impressed me most with the immense importance of technical education in promoting the industries of nations. I may state without exaggeration that education has undergone a complete

revolution in the West within the present generation. The great armaments of the Western nations, their vast armies and navies, do not receive greater attention and greater solicitude in the present day than that education in industrial pursuits which befits them for the keener struggle, which is continually going on among nations for industrial and manufacturing supremacy.

Among the nations on the Continent of Europe, Germany takes the lead in industrial enterprise; and among the many technical institutes of that country the King's Technical High School at Berlin is the most famous. A large staff of professors teach over 1,500 students, and applied chemistry in oils and colours as well as dyeing, bleaching, printing on cloths and silks, and leather tanning are taught on a scale unequalled in any other country on the Continent.

France is endeavouring to foster her industries and manufactures in numerous institutes. The *Musee des Arts et Metiers* of Paris has an extensive collection of machines and models of machines, and Science and Arts classes are held there on important technological subjects. The French Government manage the Sevres Royal Porcelain Factory and the Gobelines Tapestry Manufactory; and frequent exhibitions are held every year in the Grand and Petit Palais of Paris.

Austria is not far behind, and Vienna has technical schools on a smaller scale, each teaching some branch of a technical art; Italy has her technical academies; and a polytechnic institute, planned after the Cassanova Institute at Naples, might serve anywhere to collect the best craftsmen and the most promising apprentices under the same roof and extend the moral influence of the teacher to the pupils. All the experts of art would be collected there, and interchange ideas about their trade deficiencies and trade difficulties.

In London the City and Guild's Technical College, the County Council's Schools of Arts and Crafts, under Principal

Lethaby, and the several Polytechnics are among the many institutions where a practical training in arts and industries is imparted to the people.

The new universities of Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds pay special attention to technical education as the older universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London take up liberal and classical education. The Municipal School of Technology at Manchester is a monument of the enterprise of that great manufacturing town, and teaches mechanical, electrical, municipal and sanitary engineering, technical physics, industrial and general chemistry, bleaching, dyeing, printing and finishing of textiles, paper manufacture, metallurgy and various other subjects. Some students from Baroda are engaged in the study of acids and alkali manufacture and plumbing and sanitary engineering in this school.

But of all the countries which I have recently visited, it is America where I found the highest development of industrial education. Every single State in the United States has a State college, where technical education is given to students *absolutely free.* No fees are charged in these State colleges, because the proper training of citizens in technical arts is considered a matter of national importance, and lands and annual grants are assigned by the States for the maintenance of these colleges. Every State college teaches agriculture and engineering, and also gives some training to the students in military tactics. Other subjects are also taught according to the resources of these colleges.

Besides these State colleges there are some 43 privately endowed technical institutes all over the United States, where engineering is taught in all its branches, civil, electrical, mechanical and marine; architecture, drawing, modelling and textile industry are also among the subjects taught. The great Institute of Technology at Boston, with its 2,500 students, the Armour Institute at Chicago with its 2,000 students, and the Pratt Institute at New York with its 1,500 students

are the best known among these privately endowed technical institutes.

I need hardly add that the great universities like Harvard, Yale and Columbia also teach engineering in all its branches; and, what will surprise you more, almost every high school has classes for manual training, comprising carpentry, smithy, and machine shop.

I have not yet visited Japan, but we all know what Japan has done within the lifetime of one generation. Her victories in the battlefield have lately brought that wonderful land among the foremost nations on earth; but the victories of Nanshan and Mukden are not more brilliant than the triumphs of her industries achieved by a system of technical education which leaves very little to be desired.

MANUAL TRAINING.

My second suggestion to you is that, besides establishing technical schools, you should endeavour to introduce some manual training in the ordinary schools. The training of the eye and of the hand at an early age is useful to all, even to those who have not to support themselves by manual industry in life. Early lessons in drawing and modelling, simple instructions in carpentry and smith's work, are good for all students in all ranks of life. Physicians and psychologists tell us that such exercises, by introducing a variety in the course of studies, really refresh and help the brain and make boys and girls more capable of acquiring both learning and arts. And, moreover, to attach some industrial classes to our ordinary schools would have the healthy effect of giving a complete and not one-sided education to our children. The richer classes would be brought more in touch with the humble industries; the poor classes would acquire that skill and facility in handling tools which can be only acquired at an early age; all people in all branches of life would be impressed with the dignity of manual labour more than they do now in India; and your great endeavour to promote

the industries of the land would be greatly helped when the nation receives an elementary technical training in schools. At the same time it is necessary to bear constantly in mind that no amount of specialised training in manual arts can fill the place of that liberal education and general culture which should serve as the necessary substratum for all kinds of learning. Technical training is a supplement, but not a substitute, for general education, and should never be turned into a fad.

EDUCATION ABROAD.

I have tried to impress on you, Gentlemen, the importance of founding technical schools and of introducing manual training in our ordinary schools throughout India. Years will, however, pass before this can be done on an adequately extensive scale, so that India can take her legitimate place among the nations of the earth in industrial education and mechanical inventions. It follows, therefore, that for years, and perhaps generations, you must send your young men to Europe, America, and Japan for that complete industrial training which they cannot yet receive at home. Make no mistake, and let no time-honoured prejudices deter you from travelling to other parts of the earth, and receiving that new light, that new culture, those new ideas, which even the most gifted and advanced nations always receive by mixing with other nations, and which India needs, perhaps, more than any other civilized nation. The healthy results of foreign travels, and of comparing notes with foreign nations, are already manifest in India in every department of life within the last fifty years. Nothing impressed me more upon my recent return to India than the changed attitude of many of my countrymen towards foreign institutions. Men of all ranks have been eager to learn my impressions of Western nations. Such a spirit of enquiry is always healthful if it proceeds from a sincere thirst for knowledge. I was much interested in learning while in America that some two or

three thousand students every year go abroad to absorb the best of European methods in Education and in Commerce, while the National Government sends men to all parts of the world to study the products of other lands. England, Germany and France, with all their commercial prestige, do not hesitate to send inquirers to foreign parts. Coming nearer home, we find that hundreds of Japanese young men complete their education in France, Germany, England and America. Such is the desire for knowledge, and the wholeheartedness of the latter, that not only do they acquire a special education in whatever subject they may be engaged, but they also provide themselves with the means of livelihood, not shrinking from the humblest occupations of life.

Japan profited most by sending out her youths to the seminaries of Europe. She owes her present greatness to that illustrious band of her scholar statesmen, who imbibed the first principles in the science of politics and the art of government at the universities of Gottingen and Leipzic. She is to-day the mistress of the Eastern seas because of her student sailors, who acquired their first lessons in naval warfare in the docks of Tilbury and Portsmouth. Her battles are fought and won by her soldiers who got themselves initiated into the mysteries of manœuvring and the secrets of stratagem on the plains of the Champ-de-Mars and Rastadt. And she bids fair to assume the supreme place in the trade of the Orient on account of her scholar financiers, who have rubbed shoulders with bankers in the counting houses of London, Berlin and New York. Has the world ever seen a nobler instance of young men architecturing the fortunes of their motherland ? Can we conceive a higher example of patriotism for India's sons to emulate ? Let us follow their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion ; let us hold up their ideal of national unity and social equality, learn eagerness to acquire the newest methods in all walks of life; imitate their perseverance and patient toil ; and we may yet save the fortunes of our country.

I have learnt with pleasure that an earnest and patriotic worker of this province, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghose, the worthy son of a worthy father, has organized a scheme for sending young men to Europe and America for education; and that a large number of students have already been sent in accordance with this scheme. Nothing gave me greater pleasure, while abroad, than coming in touch with several Bengalis who were studying in Europe and America. Although far away from India, they had the kindest and most patriotic feelings for their native land. India is to be congratulated in having such men. This policy has also been pursued by the State of Baroda for many years past, and young men, educated in Europe, at State expense, are now serving the State with credit, or finding profitable employment in other parts of India. Several young students have lately been sent to England and Germany, America and Japan; and a scheme is now under consideration to send a limited number of students at regular intervals, mainly to learn the methods of modern industry.

Gentlemen, India to-day is at the parting of ways, and there are great possibilities before her. The people of Bombay, for instance, are looking forward to the use of electricity generated in the Western Ghauts for working their mills. The people of Madras are looking forward to the experiments made in "tree-cotton." All India looks forward to the happiest results from the Research Institute for which we are indebted to the late lamented Mr. Tata. There is stir in the air; and the people are showing signs of awakening. This is hopeful; but let us not forget that years of patient toil are before us, that it is only by patience and perseverance that we can ever succeed in competing with the West in industrial pursuits. We need the spirit of determination, of courage, of confidence in ourselves and in each other; we need to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, between the spirit that vivifies and the letter that kills. Let our energies be not distracted in small things;

I now desire, with your kind indulgence, to add a word on the lessons that seem to me to arise from the experience of different nations—lessons which are pertinent to India at this juncture. Turning to ancient Egypt, once the centre of the most advanced civilization of the time, we discover that vast resources—agricultural and mineral—are not alone sufficient to produce a cultured and permanent civilization; though the foundation of all stable civilizations must fall back in the last analysis upon the natural resources of the country. Egypt in the ancient time had abundant resources, but failing to note the value of human life, failing to conserve the interests of the working masses, she sank from the pinnacle of power and culture into political servitude and academic decay. The nation that despises its humblest classes, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sand. The wealth of a nation is the quality of its manhood.

Greece fell from her eminence not from any failure of philosophical or æsthetic or political insight; in these directions she has been the chief source of inspiration for the whole Western world. Pericles, Plato and Aristotle are still household names in the West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilize her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and industry; had she confided her commercial affairs to her freemen instead of her slaves; had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy, the story of Athens might have had a different *denouement*. But she wasted her mineral resources, and expended large sums in the erection of great temples of worship and art and learning. Far be it from us to suggest any criticism against a civilization which has been the fountain head of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permanent and stable economic policy, no civilization, however enlightened, can long endure.

This is the message of ancient Greece to modern India. Be careful of large expenditures, either individually or collectively, which are unproductive. Bid her people forget their caste and tribal prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India; bid them find expression for their religious enthusiasm in practical co-operation for the uplifting of humanity—of the human spirit in the temple of God. Bid them be free men, economically, socially and intellectually; and no power under Heaven can long keep them in servitude.

Rome, too, has its lesson for India. In the complex and far-reaching series of disasters, which led to the downfall of Rome, it would be difficult, indeed, to designate any one factor as the premier cause of the catastrophe. But of this we may be sure, that the highly centralised and paternalistic Government which developed under the later Cæsars, was a potent cause of weakness to the Empire. Private initiative and individual responsibility gave place to State operation of manufactures and industry. Insufficient currency and military oppression drove the husbandman from his plough and the merchant from his counter. The people looked to the Cæsar for corn, and out of the public treasury the hungry were fed, if they were fed at all. The Emperor ruled by force of arms; manufactures were operated by a system of forced labour under the strictest surveillance of the State; the civilian was forced into idleness and vice; the masses into pauperism and dejection. The national spirit decayed, and Rome fell an easy prey to the ravaging hordes from the North.

At this crucial period in India's emancipation, we shall need to keep constantly in mind the failure of Rome. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to-do amongst us to rouse, to stimulate, and to educate the lower classes. We should help them to help

themselves. But ever let us beware of paternalism. Not charity but co-operation is the crying need of the hour.

Let our people, as rapidly as possible, be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest, intelligent, *entrepreneur* class who will be content to organise and manage our new industries without sapping their life by demanding exorbitant profits.

Ancient India, too, has lessons for us. I have already spoken of India's rich products and her brisk trade with the West in ancient times. But her mechanical inventions were slow because mechanical work was left to hereditary castes, somewhat low in the scale of society. Our sculpture does not compare favourably with the sculpture and architecture of ancient Greece, and our mechanical progress does not keep pace with the mechanical inventions of modern nations, because our intellectual classes have been divorced for centuries and thousands of years from manual industry, which has been left to the humbler and less intellectual classes. In literature and thought we need fear no comparison with the most gifted nations on the earth. The genius for craftsmanship is also among the people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan classes. Make industrial pursuits the property of the nation, instead of the exclusive possession of castes; let the sons of Brahmans and of learned Moulvies learn to use tools in their boyhood; let every graduate, who feels a call towards mechanical work, turn to that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts, and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought.

Turning to the Western world of modern times we discover lessons of the most importance for India at this time. As I look back over the last several centuries which have raised the nations of the West from the darkness of mediævalism to their present high degree of civilization,

it seems to me that four historical movements are plainly discernible as important factors in that development.

The first movement to which I refer is the capitalistic programme of the last few centuries. I do not need to dwell before such an audience as this upon the advantages of a capitalistic organization of industries, with its attendant systems of credit, banks and exchanges, with its economy of production and its facility of distribution. In the scientific application of capital we still have many things to learn from the nations of the West.

For this reason I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of chairs of economics in our colleges, and to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance. Let the brightest of our young patriots be sent to Western universities to master the principles of economic polity.

The second movement in the West is the taking of social, political and commercial affairs, which are purely secular in nature, out of the hands of the priests. In the 13th century the Church of Rome and her minions dictated not only matters of religious import, but reached out in many directions to control all the relations of life, both individual and collective. For three centuries the popular will struggled against the secular tendencies of the Church, until led to open revolt by Martin Luther. Since that revolt the principle has been firmly established, and is held with special vigour in America, that the realm of the Church is in matters of moral and metaphysical import, and that social, political and commercial relationships must be left to the individual consciences of those who participate in them. And in this connection I merely desire to point out that in so far as India's religious ideas tend to keep many of our brightest and best minds out of practical affairs, out of the scientific, political and commercial movements of the time, by so far do those religious philosophic systems stand in the way of her progress towards economic independence. Why have the people of India been

tardy in grasping the scientific principles of Western industrial organisation ? I shall not presume to answer the question at any length, but content myself with suggesting that we must, as a people, look well to the religious and social foundations of our national life.

Break the monopoly of caste prerogatives and social privileges. They are self-arrogated, and are no more inherent in any one caste than commercial predominance or political supremacy in any one nation. Learn the luxury of self-sacrifice ; elevate your brethern of the humbler castes to your own level ; and smooth all artificial angularities. Always appraise action more than talk, and ever be ready to translate your word into deed.

I desire in the next place to call your attention to the development of national spirit. Throughout Europe for the last two thousand years there has been constant progress in the unifying and the solidifying of national life. Petty States and warring principalities have given place to strong, compact and homogenous nations, each possessing decided national characteristics, and each working through the patriotic impulses of all its people for the preservation of the national ideal. Now I find in my reading that the most frequent criticism offered against us as a people by candid critics is that we are disunited, many-minded, and incapable of unselfish co-operation for national ends. If this criticism is true, if it is true that India is a mass of small, heterogeneous peoples unfitted for independent national existence, then it behoves us as intelligent men and patriots to put in motion the principles of unity and co-operation. To this end I favour the adoption of a national speech and the inculcation of a national spirit.

And the last movement to which I would direct your attention is the development of science in Europe during the last hundred and fifty years. The story of that development reads like a romance of the olden time. Within that period have been developed railway, steam ships, electric telegraphs,

the telephone, friction matches, gas illuminations, knowledge of electricity in all its multiform applications, phonograph, Rontgen-rays, spectrum analysis, anæsthetics, the modern science of chemistry, the laws of molecular constitution of matter, conservation of energy, organic evolution, the germ theory of disease, and many others of the utmost practical importance in modern life.

I submit, my friends, that India's part in this wonderful movement has been shamefully small. Can it be true, as one writer has said, that some "strange feat of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the people of India to eternal reproduction of old ideals"? I cannot believe that the intellectual power of India is exhausted, nor can I believe that her people are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. We have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary, and the artistic wealth of world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, and our highest glory, to regain the intellectual supremacy of the ancient days. The atmosphere of the West is throbbing with vigorous mental life. The pursuit of *new* truth is the first concern of every stalwart mind of the West, while the mass of our people are content to live stolid, conventional lives, blindly following the precepts of the fathers rather than emulating the example they set of intellectual independence and constructive energy. I cannot do better than close my remark with those fine lines of the poet Mathew Arnold:—

> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> Then bowed in thought again.

I would not for a moment have you think, my friends, that I return from the West a convert to Western ideals, or in any sense a pessimist concerning the future of India. There are many defects in the Western civilization that no impartial student of affairs may ignore. The evils that have grown

up in the centralizing of population in the great industrial cities constitute, in my judgment, a serious menace to the future of those races. There are weighty problems of administration, of morals, of public health, which the West, with all its ingenuity, has not been able to solve. There is the internal conflict between capital and labour which is becoming more acute as time goes on. Nor can one visit the great commercial centres of the West without feeling that the air is surcharged with the miasmic spirit of greed. Everywhere the love of display and the sordid worship of material wealth and power has poisoned the minds of the people against the claims of the simple, homely life, which the Indian, in his love for the things of the spirit, has cultivated since history began.

It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code, to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West, to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines, and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervor of her people. I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this, to teach philosophy to the West and learn its science; impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal; inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbibe the business ways of its merchant.

THE HON. MR. VITHALDAS DAMODAR THACKERSEY'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN,—

It was with much diffidence that I accepted the invitation of the Executive Committee to preside over the deliberations of this, the second Session of our Industrial Conference. While I considered it a very great honour which the Committee wished to confer on me, I yet felt that it was one to which I could not hope to do as much justice as, for instance, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, who has just addressed to you words of ripe wisdom from his experience of many lands and his study of many systems, or the 1st President, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, whose large administrative experience, wide reading, and sound knowledge of economic and industrial history, pre-eminently qualified him to guide this Conference in the great work that it has undertaken. I allowed myself, however, to be persuaded into accepting the important part that it was proposed to assign to me in connection with this year's meeting, by the consideration that the Conference, being devoted to the advancement of industries and commerce, may be pleased to give indulgent hearing to one who is engaged in these activities, and who may, therefore, be expected to know the more practical aspects of some of the many problems which this Conference may help to solve. I shall not detain you further with personal observations, and for the few that I have already made I offer you my apologies.

Gentlemen, whatever doubts might have been felt last year as to the utility of holding an Industrial Conference, I am sure they have been dispelled by the experience that we have already gained. The meeting of the Conference and the circular letters of the General Secretary, the tours made by the Assistant Secretary in Madras and Northern India, of which a very interesting account has been supplied to us, the admirable report of the Proceedings of the last Confer-

ence, and Mr. Mudholker's excellent summary of industrial activities in the country during the year, are all proofs of the success that has attended the efforts of the promoters of the Conference to create public interest in industrial questions. At no period in our history have the thoughts of the people been concentrated so much on the development of Indian indigenous industries. The objects of the Conference have evoked the warm sympathies of Government and of the official and non-official European community, which I consider to be a happy augury of the success of our industrial movement. Differences may arise, they must arise now and then, between the Indian and non-official Anglo-Indian communities, as regards political and administrative questions with which, however, we have nothing to do on this platform. But on industrial and economic questions there is a very extensive field for co-operation and fellow-feeling between them. The Englishman who invests capital and spends his energies in Indian industries suffers equally with the Indian producer from ignorant interference from England, the thrusting of inequitable financial burdens on the tax-payer in India, and the adoption of measures which lead to discontent and unsettlement of the minds of the people. I rejoice to see that this is coming to be recognised in an increasing degree, and I may mention as an illustration the strong and unanimous opposition which Anglo-Indian opinion offered, in support of Indian interests, to proposals of one or other of these kinds made in recent years. I am firmly convinced that the promoters of this Conference have displayed true statesmanship and deep insight into the realities of the situation in extending their appeal for sympathy and support to Government and the non-official European community; and the response from these quarters which has been received and which is set forth fully in the excellent report of the last Conference is, I think, one of the brightest and most hopeful features of public life at the present time. I earnestly pray that the

feeling of harmony thus begun will grow in strength and power as the years pass, and that Englishmen and Indians will appreciate to a larger extent the value of mutual co-operation for the material advancement of the country and in the amelioration of the unspeakably wretched condition which is the lot of millions of the Indian people. While on this subject I should not omit to say a word of acknowledgment of the able and extremely sympathetic manner in which the new Commercial and Industrial Department of the Govern ment of India has been administered by the retiring Member, the Hon'ble Mr. Hewett, and Mr. W. L. Harvey, the capable Secretary in charge of the Department, and to express the hope that under the new Member, who is well-known and justly esteemed in this country, the Department will gain further the confidence and good-will of the industrial and commercial public. The appointment of the Stores Committee and the resolution announcing its appointment afforded conclusive proof of the great sympathy felt by the present Government of India for the cause of our industrial advancement, and the whole country looks to His Excellency the Viceroy, of whose strength of principle and devotion to duty it has had ample proof, not to allow interested intervention to frustrate the just and righteous object with which the Committee was appointed. The Committee has made its report, and I would humbly suggest that the report should be published at once to enable the public to express its opinion on the recommendations contained in it. The value of such enquiries extends beyond their immediate results. I respectfully submit that we are entitled to have an opportunity of expressing our opinion on the recommendations, before the Government in England or India pronounces its final decision. This is a matter where Indian and Anglo-Indian interests are identical, and this Conference will have the whole country at its back if it elect to approach Government with a prayer for the immediate publication of the report of the Indian Stores Committee.

FOREIGN CAPITAL.

I have referred to Englishmen who have invested capital in Indian industries, and I may not inappropriately make some observations here on the much-debated question of Indian Capital *versus* Foreign Capital. The great mistake to be guarded against is that, because certain capital used in India is foreign, it therefore must do harm to the country. It has, of course, to be considered that we ought not to pay too high a price for it. Let us take the instance of Japan, an Asiatic people who have risen to greatness on account of their practical genius, whose industrial conditions are similar in many respects to our own, and whom we are all naturally anxious now-a-days to emulate. All the great statesmen and patriots of Japan are eager to attract foreign capital to their country for purposes of industrial development. It is because they feel that, notwithstanding their skill, enterprise and ability, they are greatly handicapped owing to want of capital. At the same time, when they speak of attracting foreign capital, they do not mean to allow all the profits of the industry to go out of the country. They will not pay more than a reasonable price for it. Their position as an independent State, of course, enables them to regulate the conditions under which foreign capital will be free to engage in the development of the country. But in our country, where the open-door policy prevails to the fullest extent, and where already there is a very large amount of foreign capital invested—and I admit there is a very large field for it—it is necessary for us to form a general conception of the limits within which its application is beneficial. Let us take our Railways. The capital outlay from the commencement on open lines, lines partly open and on lines wholly under construction, amounted at the close of the calendar year 1905 to over Rs. 370 crores. Without maintaining that the Railway policy of the Government of India has always been dictated solely by the productive needs of the country, I may say that we cannot be enjoying

all the advantages of these Railways, the ability to cope with famine, the easy transportation from one part of the country to another, and not least of all our assembling here to-day for the purpose of advancing the interests of the country in various directions, but for the fact that we were able to get this large capital at a comparatively cheap rate of interest from England. Indeed, it is easy to see that the spirit of nationalism that is inspiring our movements to-day would have been impossible but for the network of Railways which, annihilating distance, brings the Punjab and Madras, Assam and Baluchistan, near to each other, and binds the whole country by the common bond of economic and national interests. Apart from strategic Railways, everybody is agreed as to the immense benefits which have been conferred on the country. Even now there are several new lines which may be laid down with the greatest benefit, and which will tap new country and which may give scope for Indian capital, if we can be satisfied with a return of 4 per cent. on the outlay. If we cannot afford to invest money at that rate, is it not desirable that those who are able to do so should lend us the money? Though in the beginning Railways may not earn much, experience shows that their earning power steadily increases with the progress of the country. If Government had allowed foreign investors to construct Railways unconditionally, the high profits and the unearned increments thereof would have gone out of the country for ever to enrich the original investors after the manner of the American magnates who have the good fortune to be the sole owners of Railways uncontrolled by Government. We owe, therefore, a deep debt of gratitude to those who, with clear foresight, kept in view, while arranging terms with the Guaranteed Railway Companies, the ultimate object of nationalizing them after allowing the investors to take the full benefit of the Railway for a limited period, generally of twenty-five years. It is thus that most of the main lines have already become State lines, and that the few remaining ones

will become so in course of time. The system of the repayment of the value of Railways by annuities on the termination of the period fixed by their contracts, obviates the difficulty and inconvenience incident to the raising of heavy loans. How profitable this policy of nationalizing the Railways has turned out to be may be gauged by the case of the East Indian Railway purchased by the State in 1880. In 1905, the net earnings on this line amounted to Rs. 482 lakhs. Out of this amount 87 lakhs were paid as interest charges on borrowed capital and Rs. 216 lakhs as annuity to the original shareholders on the basis of repaying the whole purchase amount before 1953. There still remains Rs. 160 lakhs as net yearly gain to the State, while, after 1953, the yearly gain will be trebled, taking the present revenue as it is. Here, then, is an instance of the right use of foreign capital. But when we turn to the petroleum industry in Burma, the gold mines of Mysore, the coal mines of Bengal, the tea and jute industries, the carrying trade by sea and the financing of our vast foreign trade by foreign Banks, we come upon another and a less favourable aspect of the question of the investment of foreign capital. It is impossible to estimate accurately the amount of wealth that goes out of the country in this manner, though an approximate idea can be had of it from the excess of our exports over our imports, after omitting Government transactions. It must be remembered that so much of this amount as represents merely the interest on borrowed capital, should be not regarded in the light of a drain from the country. It is in such investments as these that we find cause for complaint. In such cases I cannot but think that it would be to the permanent good of the country to allow petroleum to remain underground and the gold to rest in the bowels of the earth, until the gradual regeneration of the country, which must come about under British rule, enables her own industrialists to raise them and get the profits of the industries. A country which maintains a population of thirty crores is not likely to let about one lakh

of persons starve, and this is the number of wage-earners benefited by these industries. The price paid is much too great for the advantages accruing from them to the country. That such is the view of all impartial people who are sincerely interested in the material advancement of the country, is proved by the following passage which I quote from the excellent paper which Mr. Holland, the Director-General of the Geological Survey, read before this Conference last year. Speaking of the successful exploitation of the petroleum fields of Burma, he observed : " The one regrettable feature is the fact that the capital required to drill the deep wells has been raised in Europe, and the profits consequently have left the country. In the petroleum industry, as in so many other enterprises of the kind, India will continue to pay such an unnecessary and undesirable tax as long as those in the country who possess money will not risk their reserve fund in industrial purposes".

INDIAN BANKS.

I think, however, that indigenous capital will not be quite enough for financing the enormous and ever-expanding trade of the country and for accelerating the progress of our material and industrial regeneration. For these purposes we require as much capital as we can, and if we can get it cheaper in England than in India, I for one do not see why we should not avail ourselves of it. No country in the world can make much progress in industrial directions without plenty of capital. The problem of India may be briefly stated as follows :—

Our immense trade, our comparatively small capital, the fixed open-door policy of our Government, and the absence of power to control our financial policy,—these are the main factors of the situation, and the question is how best we can, under these conditions, develop our industries. We cannot do without foreign capital ; it will be extremely short-sighted to reject it on sentimental grounds. We must avail ourselves of it, but we ought to take care that we do not pay

more for it than other nations. We have to consider what is the best way of bringing foreign capital to India. It is necessary for this purpose to offer foreign capitalists absolute security for their money, in order to get it as cheaply as possible. Government is in a position to do this, and hence Government is able to borrow from them as much as it likes on easy terms. There are few private individuals in India who can offer security necessary for this purpose. Smaller capitalists there are in plenty, but each of these by himself can be of no use in this matter. But what individuals cannot do singly, they can do by combination. Joint-Stock Banks being the results of such combination offer the only means of bringing foreign capital into the country at easy interest. Till recently there have been no such Indian Banks among us, with large enough capital for the purpose. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that two such Banks have been started in Bombay within the last few months. These Banks at present intend to finance the internal trade of the country for which there is a wide scope ; but we hope that after some time they may feel their way to extend their operations to foreign exchanges, and thus take advantage of foreign capital as the other Exchange Banks are at present doing. We want more of such Banks in order that the present situation may be ameliorated. The Presidency Banks are not allowed to borrow from foreign countries. The Exchange Banks do trade with foreign capital, but as their shareholders and directors are outside of India, the immense profits of the trade go to them and not the people of India, who get only the bare interest on their deposits, running to over sixteen crores in these Banks. Indian Banks with large capital have, therefore, an important function to perform in this and in other ways, and I hope and trust that the movement begun in Bombay will expand and flourish. There is one other suggestion which I should like to make before leaving this part of the subject. It may happen in many cases that although we may not be able to provide

all the capital required for a new industry, we may yet be able to supply a portion of it, and so save some portion of the profits of the industry from leaving the country. But few foreign companies ever give a chance to Indian capital. They like to do all the financing themselves and do not even place their shares in the Indian market. This is unfair, and I would suggest that the legislature should make it obligatory on every industrial concern floated by foreign companies that the same opportunities should be given to Indian capitalists, that the prospectus should be published simultaneously in both countries, that the time for applications for shares should be the same, and that allotment must be made at the same rates and on the same principles. This is the least that our Government should do under the present circumstances.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

Gentlemen, you will, perhaps, expect me to refer here to the Swadeshi movement, and I hasten to satisfy that expectation. Whatever Bengal might have done or failed to do during the last twelve months, she has undoubtedly given an impetus to the Swadeshi idea. All over the country today, among young and old, rich and poor, men and women, high caste and low caste, the word "Swadeshi" has become a household word, and the spirit of it too, we may hope, is well understood. Gentlemen of Bengal, on behalf of the whole country, I tender you our hearty thanks for this valuable result, which is wholly due to your enthusiasm in the cause of the motherland. I am not one of those, Gentlemen, who sneer at enthusiasm. Enthusiasm is divine, and without it, even in regard to the industrial regeneration of the country we, can achieve but little. You have applied the life-giving spark to the slumbering spirit of Swadeshism in this land, and yours is the honour of concentrating the national mind on the work of industrial development. It is inevitable that in a time of excitement and distress words might be spoken and things done which in calmer moments

might not commend themselves to our sober judgment. I am referring solely to the effect of your enthusiasm and self-sacrifice on the whole of India, even among those who did not and could not see eye to eye with the Bengalis on the question of partition and the subsidiary questions connected with it.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

Gentlemen, we have got the Swadeshi idea firmly implanted in the national mind. We have now to consider what our programme should be for the near future. We cannot do everything at once. Industries are not created in a day. We should profit by the experience of other countries which have grown industrially great, and, in the pursuit of the Swadeshi ideal, we should follow the methods which have proved successful in those countries. I admit that in one important respect the conditions with which we are beset are somewhat different from those prevailing in countries which have come to the front as centres of the world's great industries. We cannot look to Government to give us any direct help in the shape of protective import duties or bounties such as have been given in other countries. But, short of that, Government can do much, and I am satisfied that they are not likely to revert to the old *laissez-faire* policy in respect of our industrial advancement. Although, as I have said, we cannot do everything at once, our plan of action should be drawn up with a view to future developments in all directions. When you view the industrial situation, Gentleman, the first thing that forces itself on your attention is the primitive condition of the premier industry of the country—I mean the agricultural industry—the industry which supports more than 65 per cent. and, according to Lord Curzon, 80 per cent. of our population, and on which we must depend for our subsistence as well as for the raw material of our chief manufacturing industries. So long as agriculture is carried on in the present primitive fashion, no great industrial improvement need be expected in India. Even Protectionist Economists admit that until the agricultural industry has reached a high state

of development, manufacturing industries cannot be largely brought into existence even with the support of the State. In England itself the era of manufactures was immediately preceded by a period of extraordinary agricultural development, due mainly to the enterprise of the great landlords. I rejoice to see that the greatest landlord of all in India, namely, Government, are recognising their duty and have taken and are taking measures to spread a scientific knowledge of agriculture by means of colleges, experimental farms, and such other measures, to free cultivation from insect pests, and to introduce new and valuable forms of the agricultural industry. The work done in connection with rubber cultivation, if it lead to the tree becoming naturalised in India, would add materially to the national income, as the demand for rubber all over the world is immense. While Government are waking up to their duty, it behoves private landlords, like the Zemindars of Bengal, who correspond to the landed aristocracy of England, to devote their time and resources towards developing their industry. Gentlemen, if the Swadeshi spirit inspires these great landed magnates to introduce science and system into agriculture so as to make it yield the highest profit of which it is capable, then, believe me, you will be in sight of large manufactures, financed, controlled, and worked by our own countrymen. It is a common fallacy to suppose that the arena of great achievements lies far afield of our everyday lives. It is never so. Few people talk of the Swadeshi movement in connection with agriculture. But really that is the industry which most requires the application of the true Swadeshi spirit, for on it are based all our possibilities of manufacturing industries. If the mill industry flourishes in Western India, it is because the Guzerathi is acknowledged on all hands to be the most efficient cultivator of cotton in India.

MINERAL INDUSTRY.

From agriculture, let us turn to mineral industries, in which considerable interest is being evinced at the present

time. I do not think that there is any one in India who can speak with greater authority or give more valuable information on this subject than Mr. Holland, the Director of the Geological Survey of India, and I would remind you of his admirable paper read before the Conference last year as well as to his official reports. He is a gentlemen with the true Swadeshi instinct in him, and I believe that to his writings and his influence is due to a very large extent the active interest shown everywhere in mining enterprise. Possessed of the knack of clothing technical matter in popular style, his reports are easily intelligible to the general reader and have been read everywhere with enthusiasm. There was a very marked development of interest in mineral industries last year, resulting in an increase of 50 per cent. in the prospecting licenses and mining leases taken up. The explorations of geologists confirm the verdict of ancient history that our country is rich in minerals of every kind, and that there is hardly anything which we cannot produce if only capital, enterprise, and the requisite technical knowledge were forthcoming. The total value of the mineral productions of India, omitting minor industries for which no returns are available, was over $8\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees in 1905. Gold and coal contributed two-thirds of this value, and in both of these mineral industries I need hardly tell you that Indians have very little share. The same is the case with the petroleum industry, which comes third in the list of values. These three together account for three-fourths of the total value of mineral production in India. What are the causes of this apathy on the part of the Indian people? Want of capital is one cause. But want of technical and scientific knowledge is probably a more important one. One of the first needs of the country, therefore, is to educate a large number of young men and to train them up in mineral industries. So long as there is the present dearth of skilled experts, and one has to pay a high price for the preliminary work of

exploration, we can never expect mining industries to progress rapidly. One does not grudge to pay a high fee to an expert who has to be consulted at the final stages or from time to time during the progress of the work of exploration. But for preliminary work, we want a large number of trained men with a thorough practical knowledge of the different kinds of mineral industries. Government have already done something in this direction. In Bengal a scheme for giving mining instruction has been sanctioned by the Imperial Government, and a Mining Professor and a Mining Inspector have been engaged. The experience of these officers has dispelled the fear expressed in some quarters that there was no real demand for mining instruction in India. Professor Robertson has received applications which show that India-trained mining students will be able to readily obtain employment when they become qualified. Four young Indians are studying mining in the University of Birmingham, receiving Government scholarships of £150 per annum. These are happy signs, but we cannot help thinking that instead of sending Indian students to learn mining in England, the conditions here are such that Government, by establishing an up-to-date Mining College in India, can make this country a great centre of mining instruction, besides training our own students to take charge of the higher posts in the Geological Department. If it be deemed necessary to give Indian students the expanded knowledge that comes of visiting the centres of mining in Europe and America, it can be so arranged that after completing their course of studies in the Indian College, they may spend a short time in those centres. It is a matter for thankfulness that Government rules in relation to mining enterprise are liberal and, speaking from my own personal experience, I can say that the Geological Department is always anxious to give the fullest information and assistance to any enquiry. In connection with the mineral industries it has been pointed out that without a cycle of chemical indus-

tries, it is almost impossible to make several of them paying. Several instances of this kind are mentioned in Mr. Holland's quinquennial review published last year. In his paper read before this Conference last year, Mr. Holland referred to the manufacture of ammonium sulphate as a very promising industry. It is gratifying that the East Indian Railway Company has now nearly completed the erection of a plant on the Giridih coal-field for this purpose. I have no doubt that other colliery owners will follow suit when they find that this experiment proves successful. I also understand that a small plant for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate from gas-liquor has been set up by the Calcutta Gas Company, using sulphuric acid. There is a vast field for this as well as for similar industries which make use of the bye-products of mineral industries, but a large number of chemical experts are required to utilise them in full measure.

COTTON INDUSTRY.

I will now refer shortly to manufacturing industries, of which cotton is by far the most important, both in bulk and value. Next to food comes clothing among the necessaries of life. I will not detain you with the statistics of the industry. These have been ably enlarged upon in some of the papers read before the Conference at Benares. Nor shall I take up your time with my opinions on the hand-loom industry and its prospects. A separate Resolution is to be submitted to you on the subject, and the speakers to that Resolution will not thank me for anticipating their remarks in my address. The importance of the hand-loom industry is widely recognised, and the only question is how the ordinary hand-loom can be improved so as to meet the competition of its rivals. The conditions of the new hand-loom are that it should be cheap, simple in construction, and capable of being easily repaired by the village carpenter, while at the same time the output should be larger than that of the existing ones. There are several inventions in the

field, and only experience can show which of them come up most to these requirements.

Turning to the power-loom industry, of which I can speak from personal knowledge, most of you are aware that Indian mills produce cloth generally of the coarser kinds, largely manufactured up to 21s warp and 30s weft, and only a small proportion of finer kinds of cloth. The reason why they have to restrict themselves to the production of the coarser sorts, is the quality of cotton grown in the country at present So long as cotton of superior staple is not produced here, it is hopeless to expect the manufacturer to improve the quality of his cloth. That he is doing his best is clear from the fact that the official returns show that every year finer qualities of cloth are manufactured to an increasing extent. At the present moment cloth of the quality which Indian mills largely produce is hardly imported into India. If the country gives the Indian manufacturer a superior staple cotton, there can hardly be a doubt that he will be able to supply the needs of the people from his looms. What a large field there is yet to be exploited by the Indian power-loom weaver, is shown by the fact that the quantity of cloth imported from Great Britain last year amounted to over 200 crores of yards. Besides we imported 3½ crores lbs. of yarn. If the Indian mill-owner is able to produce the superior kinds of cloth and yarn, he can safely increase the number of mills to ten times what they are. I am glad to say that the prospects of our being able to weave finer cloth are fairly promising. The gratitude of the country is due to the Government of Bombay for its action in regard to the experiments for the cultivation of high-class cotton in Sind from Egyptian seed, which have been attended with splendid success. The area sown this year was 7,000 acres; from the point of view of the agriculturist also, the introduction of the superior cotton has been a great boon. The yield per acre was greater and the price considerably higher than that

obtained for ordinary Sind cotton. The gain to the cultivator is so great from the introduction of Egyptian cotton, that it is not extravagant to hope that all the arable land suitable for this quality of cotton on the banks of the great perennial irrigation canals, which is estimated to be at least 100,000 acres and is probably more, will be brought under it at no distant date. The only retarding feature is that this year the plants were attacked by Boll-worm and sustained damage to the extent of 50 per cent. But the Government Entomologist, Mr. Lefroy, has suggested to cultivators a certain method of prevention which we may hope they will follow. When this comes to pass, the conditions of the Indian cotton industry will be revolutionised, and India will be able to supply a very large portion of her demand for superior kinds of cloth. Then will be the time for the full realisation of the Swadeshi ideal in respect of our clothing. Until then for superior varieties of cloth we must depend on the foreign producer.

May I venture to make an observation here in regard to the complaint lodged against Indian manufacturers by our Bengali friends to the effect that they (the manufacturers) did not sufficiently support them in their patriotic and unselfish Swadeshi propagandism? Those who brought forward the charge did not realise that prices are regulated by the unalterable laws of supply and demand, and that, howsoever laudable the object may be, it is impossible to control prices by artificial means, even if the manufacturers desired to do so. The manufacturer is only one stage in the process whereby the cloth that he produces reaches the person who uses it. Between him and the consumer there is a hierarchy of intermediaries, all of whom, depending as they do on the profits of trade for their maintenance, are not likely at any time to forego the opportunity of higher profits. Even if the manufacturer reduced prices to a slight degree below the market level, it would not at all follow that the consumer would get the advantage. The dealers would get it.

The mechanism of trade is a highly complex one, and a single bale of cloth has to pass through three or four hands before it reaches the consumer. It is too much to expect each of these persons to be so philanthropic as to lose his legitimate opportunity. The complaint is founded on a misconception as to the nature of trade which follows high prices as water flows from a higher to a lower level.

The one unfortunate element of the Indian cotton mill industry is that it has always been looked upon by Lancashire manufacturers with unfriendly eyes. From time to time, the self-interest of these manufacturers has laid a heavy hand on our long struggling industry under one pretext or another. Now, it is the sacred principle of free trade; at another time it is humanity and philanthropy and all the virtues of mankind rolled into one. I do not refer to the abolition of the import duties on cotton goods twenty-five years ago. But the imposition of the excise duty on mill-made cotton cloth in compensating for a revenue duty on imported cotton goods was a flagrant departure from the practice of Great Britain itself. But this has not been enough. The cry is now for restricting the hours of labour of adult male labourers in our mills. The reason assigned for the interference is, of course, humanity, but sometimes the cloak is thrown aside and the naked truth comes into view. Thus during the discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, Mr. Keir Hardie complained that the manufacturer in India had the advantage over the manufacturer in Great Britain of lower wages. It was wrong, he said, that he should also have the advantage of long hours. Well, if we consider what immense advantages England has over India in regard to manufacturing industries, on the principle of Mr. Keir Hardie's complaint, we should be justified in asking for a curtailment of many of them. But who would listen to us? If the possession of cheap labour is an undue advantage, why not the possession of cheap capital? The fact, however,

is Lancashire does not care to argue with us. It is the old story of the wolf and the lamb. Lancashire would be glad to kill the Indian industry, and one reason is as good as another for that purpose. It is due, however, to the Government of India to acknowledge that they have always tried to withstand the pressure of Lancashire, though, unfortunately for us, often without success. Now, Mr. Morley has been induced to send out a special Inspector to enquire into the conditions of labour in Indian factories. The factory-owners in India will do their best to facilitate his work, for they have nothing to conceal. But we have our fears that Lancashire will be satisfied with nothing less than putting a limit on the hours of adult male labour. Such a thing would be unprecedented, and we may hope that the Government of India will energetically protect the interests of our industries. We may appeal to Mr. Morley himself, who is fully cognisant of the evils of such restriction to resist the attempts of Lancashire to cripple the Indian industry. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce has strongly protested against interference with the hours of labour in jute mills, and on behalf of the cotton mill industry, I humbly add my protest in the same sense to that of the Chamber.

SUGAR INDUSTRY.

I have dwelt at length on the two most important industries of India. There are numerous other industries for which there is a vast field in this country, and which, if taken up by our capitalists, would be productive of great benefit to themselves as well as to the labouring population. After cotton piece-goods, sugar is the most important article imported into India in point of value, and it is well known that the sugar industry has been declining in this country of late years as the result of foreign competition. The history of the establishment of the beet sugar industry in Europe and its development to its present proportions is one of the most fascinating chapters of industrial history, and for a succinct account of it, I would refer you to the

excellent series of articles which have appeared in the pages of the *Indian Trade Journal*, which my friend, Mr. Noel Paton, edits with quite as much zeal as ability. *The Indian Trade Journal* has enhanced the practical value of the series of articles on sugar by publishing statistics relating to the production of sugar-cane and the demand for sugar in each of the provinces of India. India is the home of the sugar-cane, and is it not strange that we should be ousted from the manufacture of sugar by foreign competition ? There is an immense market for sugar in this country. What is needed here is, first, the improvement of the quality of the sugar-cane grown and the introduction of modern machinery. Investigation has shown that beet-root cannot be grown in India on a profitable scale. But it has been found possible to increase the percentage of sugar in the cane by the use of suitable manure. Thus the problem is an agricultural one first. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have the largest area of land under sugar-cane, and we may hope that our friends in those provinces will take early steps to organise the sugar industry on modern lines.

OTHER INDUSTRIES.

There are similarly the jute industry which our Bengali friends ought to develop ; silk, which may be introduced in several parts of the country, and paper in Burma, as shown by an instructive monograph just issued by the Government paper expert, Mr. Sindall. Leather is another industry for which there is a large field in India. It does not require large fixed capital, and, in spite of the prejudice against working in hides, there is a large amount of cheap labour available. The enormous number of hides and skins exported from the country every year shows that there is no lack of the raw material for the industry. We are thankful to the Government of Madras for all that it has done and is doing to establish the Chrome Leather Industry in that province. I would observe in passing that it is not necessary nor is it

advantageous that the same industries should be established in all parts of the country. This may not be possible in the first place. Even where it may be possible, it may be found, perhaps, that the production of wealth will be better assisted by leaving provinces to promote the industry for which they have special facilities.

INDUSTRIAL SURVEY.

I venture to suggest that the Commercial Department should have its counterpart in each province, the duty of the provincial department being to devote its attention to the industrial and commercial possibilities of the province and keep in touch with its economic problems. Of course this is being done to some extent under the present system, but the work deserves to be attended to more systematically and thoroughly. I read with pleasure the other day in the papers that the Madras Government has appointed Mr. Alfred Chatterton, Director of Industrial and Technical Inquiries in that Presidency for five years. Mr. Chatterton's work for the industrial development of the Southern Presidency is well known, and there is every reason to expect that in the next five years he will be able to do important service in exploring the industrial capacities of the province. We want similar measures in every province in the country. Provincial agencies will be better able to conduct the much-needed survey of indigenous industries recommended by the Committee on Industrial Education appointed by Lord Curzon, and also suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. Hewett in his last Budget speech. He urged the Provincial Governments "to make a survey of the state of indigenous industries within the area of their jurisdiction with a view to ascertaining the exact state of the various industries and handicrafts, the amount of the earnings and the present condition of the artisans respectively employed in them, the precise manner in which the different industries have been affected by competition with imported articles, the practicability of creating new markets or of developing markets which already

exist, and the possibility of giving a new lease of life to these industries, either by means of special instruction or by the improvement of the appliances in use".

LABOUR QUESTION.

Gentlemen, I have spoken of the organization of capital, and the development of industries. I should not omit to make a few observations on the all-important question of the supply of labour. True, we have a large population, but owing to illiteracy and the prejudices concomitant to it, every industry in the land feels the difficulty arising from not having an adequate supply of labour. In order to convert our vast population into an effective labour-force, we have first of all to instil into them the rudiments of knowledge, which will widen their mental outlook, fill them with new aspirations and enable them to know what opportunities await them in the industrial world, and to take advantage of them for their own and their country's benefit. Plague has in many parts of the country played sad havoc with the labour supply and, speaking from the purely industrial and commercial point of view, I beg to express the earnest hope that Government may be pleased to create more centres of investigation, so that the discovery of a remedy may be accelerated.

Except by the Committee working at the Parel Laboratory, which is doing excellent work, there is no effort made at present to elucidate the etiology of the disease, and what can one Committee sitting in a single centre of plague do to trace the causes of a calamity so widespread and elusive?

EDUCATION.

Gentlemen, you all know that the Government of India have addressed Local Governments on the subject of the abolition of fees in primary schools throughout the country. From the strong views expressed by the Supreme Government in their circular letter, we are led to hope that the proposal will be carried through at no distant date. This

will be the first step towards introducing a system of universal national education, and its effects are bound to be most beneficial to the people. Gentlemen, I hope that Government will be equally liberal towards technical education, for which the grant now made is insignificant, considering the vast extent of the country and our large population. What I have said above as to the necessity of a large number of experts for the development of mining industries applies with equal force to all industries, and hence technical education on a large scale is one of our primary needs. I may also mention here the importance of a wider spread of commercial education, which at present is practically neglected by the State. I ought to make an exception in the case of Bengal, where commercial education is imparted in the Presidency College at Calcutta, and Madras, where a rather feeble attempt has been made to encourage it. Those who do not understand what commercial education is, and mistake it to be mere book-keeping, sneer at it; but commercial education is much more than that, and if there were more of commercially educated men among us, we would be able to retain in the country a very large proportion of the profits which now go to foreign firms which do importing and exporting business only.

Coming to the highest departments of industrial education, the department of scientific research, it is gratifying to note that, after a long period of suspended animation, the Indian Institute of Science, which owes its origin to the far-seeing patriotism and princely munificence of the late Mr. Jamsetji N. Tata, is likely to shortly become an accomplished fact, as evidenced by the appointment of Dr. Travers, an eminent scientist, to the Directorship of the Institution. All these are hopeful signs of the times, and I am sure you will agree that they all point to a bright industrial future for ur country.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Gentlemen, I have endeavoured in the remarks that I have made to-day to set before you in as few words as

possible the main features of the industrial situation as it appears to me—the importance of utilizing foreign capital in the development of the country instead of being utilized by it for its own gain, the principal directions in which industrial progress may be made, the lines on which we should proceed, and the requirements of the country in the matter of technical and scientific education. No doubt there have been omissions, but these, I am sure, will be supplied by the gentlemen who will speak on the several resolutions to be placed before you. The word 'Swadeshi', Gentlemen, signifies the love of motherland. It does not signify hatred of any other land. This love of motherland, if it really becomes a part of our nature, will manifest itself not in one direction only but in all; not in one department of life only but in all departments of it. Industrially you all know that Swadeshism is enforced in many civilized countries by means of prohibitive tariffs, and bounties to home producers. This may or may not be a wise policy, but there is at any rate nothing immoral or unrighteous. We are only following the example of these nations, and following it at a very great distance, by making voluntary efforts to encourage indigenous industries. There is nothing wrong in this. On the contrary, it is all the more creditable to us that what in other countries requires to be enforced by the State, is undertaken here by the spontaneous action of the people. May the spirit of Swadeshism grow among us, and may the devolopment of industries, which is sure to follow it, lead to the permanent prosperity of this, our Motherland.

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MR. P. N. BOSE'S WELCOME ADDRESS.

MAHARAJAHS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I deeply appreciate the honour which the Bengal Committee have done me by appointing me their President, and, as such, I have much pleasure in welcoming the delegates and visitors from different parts of India. I must frankly confess my welcome is a trifle tinged with selfishness. In the matter of industrial enterprise, we have more to learn from our guests than they from us. We shall have to subject them to a process which is expressively (though vulgarly) called "pumping"; and if we are mindful of our interests, we should "pump" them dry before they leave us. We have met to attempt the solution of a problem the most important that can engage the attention of our countrymen at the present day. It is a very complicated problem, the most complicated of all the problems with which we are at present confronted. But there is one salient feature which distinguishes it from good many of the other problems: however difficult it may be, it is one which, if we are determined, we can solve ourselves with the help of the Government if it be forthcoming—and the present attitude of the Government encourages the hope that it will be forthcoming—or even without such help if it be not forthcoming, at least to the extent desired by us. Our brethren in other parts of India, and notably in the Bombay Presidency, have already made some advance towards the solution. The numerous, flourishing, gigantic cotton mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad may well serve as so many object-lessons to us. They are mostly owned, managed and officered by Indians. I have of late made several trips to the Western Presidency, and last October penetrated into the heart of Kathiawar. Wherever I went I noticed enterprise and industrial activity—not yet, it is true, to an extent desirable for a complete solution of the industrial problem, but certainly to an extent incomparably greater than what we have hitherto met with in Bengal. I say hitherto, because now my Bengali friends are beginning to attack the problem with a vigour and an earnestness which promises great results in the future. There is, however, still observable in them a special predilection for petty industries, which partake more or less of the nature of handicrafts and stand in a little need of labour-saving machinery—industries which can be started with a small capital and therefore hardly require any co-operation. There can be no question that such industries are useful in their way, and that the possibilities of such industries should be developed to the

fullest extent goes without saying. But we must bear in mind that they will not go very far towards meeting the exigencies of our situation. In an address which I had the honour to deliver as President of an Industrial Conference held in this city in 1891, I said: "The good old times have passed away. We may sigh for them, but they will never return. We must move with the the times or perish. The progress of natural science has effected a revolution in industrial methods. The day of mere manual skill is gone by, and, rest assured, will never return". I regret to have to repeat and even emphasise these words after the lapse of fifteen years. Those of my friends who are so sanguine as to expect to dislodge Western manufactures from strong positions held by them in our markets with such weapons alone as the primitive furnace, the "charka" and the hand-loom, however improved, would do well to visit the great mills and factories of Northern and Western India, or, failing that, to extract as much wisdom as they can from our visitors.

Some of my compatriots of Bengal are probably regretting having made me their spokesman. So I hasten to say that though our province has hitherto evinced a deplorable dearth of commerical and industrial enterprise, she has excelled in other spheres of activity. We have in this city as many as five daily newspapers, conducted entirely in English, and owned, managed and edited by Bengalis; but, so far as I am aware, my compatriots of Bombay cannot boast of even one! This, however, is a form of activity which may be considered by some to be hardly deserving of commendation under existing conditions. The gentlemen of the press must not misunderstand me. I have not been a public man; and I do not know whether I am pachydermatous enough to survive a shower of their sharpest missiles. What I mean to say is, that indigenous journalistic activity of the sort we have in Bengal (while there has hitherto been no very marked display of activity in spheres where it is more urgently needed) may be held by some to be a point of questionable superiority on our part. But there are other achievements to which no such exception can be reasonably taken. I doubt if all the other provinces put together could produce such an illustrious array of social and religious reformers, authors, legal luminaries, and last, but by no means the least, orators, than that turned out by Bengal during the British rule. Several of the most important movements

of modern India have had their origin here. The latest of these—the Swadeshi movement—did not originate in Bengal. But Bengal has given it an impetus which I doubt if it could have got elsewhere. The development which it has recently attained has been an agreeable surprise to me. In a magazine article entitled "A Plea for a Patriotic Movement", published in May 1903, I wrote as follows:—

"A movement has been going on for some time past in different parts of India which is known as the Swadeshi (or patriotic) movement Its object being protection of indigenous industries, it is not much favoured by the generality of the more highly educated Indians, who are imbued with the doctrine of Free Trade imparted with English education When they, however, awaken to a sense of the fallacious nature of that doctrine, when applied irrespective of surrounding circumstances, as I have no doubt they will soon, they will not only cease to look askance at this hitherto obscure and little recognised movement, but will perceive in it the germ of a great organisation which, if well directed, may effect the industrial regeneration of India. A great central organisation with branches in all important towns, having for its object the promotion of the interests of indigenous manufactures, will go a long way towards at least a partial solution of the complicated problem of Indian industrial development The idea of such an organisation may at present appear to many as chimerical. But there is really no reason why it should not be realised if a few earnest, capable, self-sacrificing men make it the mission of their lives. What is needed is a clear conception of its urgent necessity, and a firm conviction that, without the fostering care and watchful vigilance of some such organisation, the infant enterprise of Young India will be unsuccessful and infructuous".

Little did I dream at the time I penned these lines that within two years the movement for which I pleaded with such diffidence was to become so popular. Though no indication of any proper organisation is as yet perceptible in it, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that it has made for progress. Here, again, our strong and weak points have manifested themselves. While we, Bengalis, have been writing, talking and agitating, our more practical brethren of the other provinces have been quietly filling their pockets. I was conversing with a big Parsi

merchant in Bombay last February, when he observed in connection with the only conspicuous tangible result of the Swadeshi movement at the time in Bengal, a result over which our newspapers were most jubilant—the Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mill · "Why do you not start a new cotton mill on a large scale ? The one you are going to acquire is an Indian concern already, why not have another" ?

I hope our guests will be as frank in their criticism as this Parsi gentleman We must not be impatient of honest criticism, but should rather welcome it if we really mean to improve.

I must accord a special welcome to those of our Western friends who are extending a helping hand to us. We are very grateful to them. We expect a deal of light from them. They are so far ahead of us in respect of industrial development, that for many years to come we shall have much to learn from them. We should not be under any delusion There is no sign yet of the approach of the millennium. Human nature in the civilised world is much the same now as it was two or three thousand years ago. A clear recognition of this truth, which I must say is generally occluded by the glamour of occidental civilisation, would save us a deal of unnecessary expenditure of time and energy. This, however, by the way. The industrial interests of the West are not generally identical with those of the East : nay, in not a few cases they are altogether antagonistic. The day is not far distant when there will be a great industrial war between the Orientals and the Occidentals. The war is inevitable, and our brethern of the West must be well aware of it. Constituted as human nature still is, we cannot expect that they should all place in our hands weapons which they know would some time or other be directed against them. But the fact that we have some sincere, earnest friends among them who, rising superior to circumstance, not only sympathise with us, but are also ready to work hand in hand with us, shows that chivalry has survived the deadening influence of the most material of civilisations the world has ever seen. All honour to those chivalrous, benevolent gentlemen. They are the salt of the earth.

Two years ago I had the good fortune of camping with an illustrious American expert. I used to have many pleasant and informing conversations with him. One day our conversation turned upon the phenomenal industrial development of the West.

I asked him what its goal was. My friend—the practical man that he was—said he did not know what the goal was; all that he knew was that the wheels must go on crushing whom it may. But, Gentlemen, while he knew this, he was at the same time ready to advise us as to how we might arrest the progress of the wheels of Western Industrialism and avoid being crushed. The knowledge that we have such friends in the West—especially in Great Britain and America—buoy us up with hope for the future.

Here I would like, with your leave, to set right a matter about which there has been some misunderstanding. Our Anglo-Indian friends generally profess sympathy with the Swadeshi movement. An English gentleman proposed to me the name of Swadeshi for a company he wanted to float in order to attract Indian capital. But volleys of indiscriminate abuse are occasionally directed against the leaders of the Swadeshi movement. The last notable instance of such a fusillade was at an important annual function in this city. That there have been some indiscretions, some excesses, is undeniable. But they are mostly peccadilloes of nonage, and are unavoidable in a movement which becomes at all popular. Mr. Morley in his last India Budget speech said: "Great thoughts come from the heart, but must go round by the head". This should, no doubt, be the case with the wise men of the world, but the pity of it is, there are so few of them! With the mass of the people thoughts seldom take the circuitous route prescribed by philosophers, but go direct out of the heart. As a consequence all movements taken up by them —social, religious or political—have always been characterised by features such as we would expect when passions and emotions are but little controlled by reason. But would you rather wish that great ideas lay confined within a small circle of wise men, than that they should spread among the masses and elevate them, although in so doing they lose their original purity? The water which is imprisoned in the clouds up above is pure. But would you rather that it lay there than that it should descend to the earth and fructify it and afford drinking water to its thirsty millions, although in descending to it and while there it absorbs various impurities, sometimes to the extent which renders it positively noxious?"

Gentlemen, my next very agreeable function is to ask H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda to deliver his inaugural

address. I feel the greatest pleasure in doing this, not because he happens to be a ruling Chief of the first rank—no—but because, though a great Prince, I know of no one else in this assembly who is better entitled to speak authoritatively on subjects to be dealt with by this Conference. In His Highness' case, it may be truly said, that it is the man that honours the rank and sheds lustre on the crown. In him we have the rare combination of a gifted and benevolent ruler, a true patriot, and an ardent though cautious reformer. As long ago as 1890, His Highness established the Technical Institute of Baroda, an institution the utility of which is so highly appreciated that it attracts students even from the distant Central and United Provinces—an institution the like of which, be it said to our shame, we have not had in this province until only six months ago, when the Bengal Technical Institute was founded, thanks to the liberality of some of my large-hearted compatriots, foremost among whom is my esteemed friend, Mr. T. Palit. Now, the State of Baroda has a population in round numbers of two millions. I find there are as many as thirteen districts in Bengal, each of which contains more, and several considerably more, than that population, and three districts, each of which has a population only slightly less. Imagine, Gentlemen, each of these sixteen districts possessing a technical institute of the same type as that of Baroda, but adapted, of course, to local conditions. Why, the economic and social condition of Bengal would then be quite different from what it is now.

Gentlemen, technical education has been very sadly neglected. Our Government must have long been fully aware of the gradually increasing importance of such education, and its urgency has been repeatedly pressed upon their attention during the last 20 years. But the machinery of the Government moves very slowly, and when it does move, it does not always move in a way which commends itself to our amiable judgment. As long ago as 1886 a scheme was suggested by which the Sibpur Engineering College could be made to impart superior technical training in various subjects at but comparatively small additional cost. But it is only since the beginning of this year that a serious attempt has been made by the Government in that direction. Provision has now been made for the teaching of mining in Bengal—half a century after the starting of coal mining in that

Province! During the last two decades voluminous reports on industrial matters have been turned out by the Government Press—reports which would fill a small library and which are replete with the most useful information. But our people have not had the necessary training to turn it to account. It is our Occidental friends who have benefited most by the researches of those departments of our Government which are directly or indirectly connected with the development of the resources of our country. A Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1902 reported upon the condition of industrial education in India the next year and made some excellent recommendations. I am not aware, however, that the Government has yet done anything to speak of to carry out those recommendations. In fact, the history of the progress of technical education in India during the last twenty years is practically a blank.

I rejoice to say, however, that steps have of late been taken which promise good results in the future. But, Gentlemen, we must be just and impartial. I do not think it would be fair to cast all the blame upon the shoulders of the Government. We are to blame also,—I should say, blame even more than the Government. Situated as we are and under the existing conditions of the ethical development of the civilised world, it would not be reasonable on our part to expect much from our Government. After all, one must work out his own salvation himself. The very attempt to do that, if it be earnest and insistent, will call forth and develop qualities which must ensure ultimate success. Our Government is not in the happy position of a talented, benevolent autocrat like H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar, who has not only inaugurated an effective system of technical instruction, but has also initiated—and very wisely initiated—industries for the fructification of such instruction. As long ago as 1883-84, His Highness established a cotton mill, and now there are no less than three large weaving and spinning mills in his State, all of them organised and managed by private indigenous agency. His Highness has also pioneered the sugar industry in his State. Already the impetus given by him to industrial development has resulted in the starting of numerous ginning presses, and of dyeing, chocolate, rice, rectified spirit, and match factories; and the Baroda State promises to be a great industrial centre in the near future. But, for various reasons, it would not be desira-

ble for a Government like ours to engage in commercial undertakings. All that we can rationally expect of them is the dissemination of technical education. Even then it would be hardly wise, as we have learnt from the experience of the last twenty years, to depend upon them entirely or even mainly. The technical education, however, is of no use—absolutely no use—unless we have industries to utilise it. Technical training and industrial enterprise must go hand in hand. But, Gentlemen, we have hitherto shown a most lamentable lack of such enterprise, except, be it noted to their credit, by our brethren of the Bombay Presidency in the matter of cotton manufactures. Hitherto our economic resources have been exploited mainly, and in the case of minerals almost exclusively, by Western enterprise. Within the 24 years (1881-82 to 1904-05) the number of jute mills has nearly trebled (8 to 22); that of mills for wool, silk, and hemp has increased more than ten times (3 to 31); that of paper mills has increased five-fold (1 to 5); and that of sugar factories has more than doubled (4 to 9). Within the ten years (1894 to 1903), the output of manganese ore increased about 15 times (11,410 to 165,006 tons); that of petroleum more than seven-fold (11,452,649 to 87,859,069 gallons); that of mica nearly quadrupled (285 to 1,077 tons); that of gold nearly trebled (210,412 to 603,218 ounces); and that of coal more than doubled (2,823,907 to 7,438,386 tons.) But, alas! indigenous enterprise has had very little share in this industrial expansion.

I am fully aware of the formidable obstacles which confront us. We are handicapped by our excessive poverty, by our sad deficiency in scientific and technical education, by our social system, by our civilization, which is of an essentially non-industrial character, and by the absence of that State protection which infant enterprise in all countries stands in need of. But at the same time I see no reason why an intelligently directed, well organised and persistent effort to overcome the difficulties in our way should not be crowned with success.

It seems as if such an effort is going to be made now. There are hopeful signs of an industrial awakening on all sides. This Conference and the Exhibition across the way are among such signs. They show that the industrial movement which has been going on slowly for the last quarter of a century has at last been taken up by that great body of my

educated and patriotic countrymen who constitute the Congress. I humbly beg leave, however, to say one word by way of caution to my Congress friends. The machinery and the method of work adopted by them for the Congress will not quite answer the purpose of this Conference. This platform affords us an excellent opportunity for the discussion of important industrial subjects and for an interchange of ideas. But the more important part of our work will have to be done silently and strenuously in the study, the laboratory, the field, the workshop, and the factory The subjects dealt with by the National Congress are mainly of a nature which precludes the possibility of strong fruitful action, year in and year out, therefore they have had to content themselves for the last twenty years with advocating reforms and recommending measures the execution of which depends upon a will which is not their own. The Industrial Congress, however, presents to us a very wide field for action, calculated to lead to momentous results in the immediate future; and we need not, and in my humble opinion should not, urge a single measure which we are not prepared to carry out gradually ourselves, either independently or with the help of the Government.

This very assembly is an indication of the industrial awakening of India and a very significant indication too. It is, I believe, the first of the kind in India. For the first time in our history two ruling Princes have got over the barriers interposed by immemorial custom, and have condescended not only to grace this meeting by their presence, but also to take an active part in its proceedings. I see around me representatives of the landed, legal and mercantile aristocracy, owners of such capital as we have in this country; I see around me representatives of the different sections of our middle class who are to supply us with workers; and I see around me high officials of the Government who have it in their power to help us in a variety of ways. If they cordially join hands, and work shoulder to shoulder, we shall not be long in solving the difficult problem we have taken in hand. Verily, there is some hope for a cause which has brought together such a distinguished and such a representative gathering; and there is some hope for a Conference which is to be opened by such an enlightened and such an accomplished Prince as H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE AND A YEAR'S OUTTURN OF WORK.

MR. R. C DUTT, C. I. E.

MR PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is my pleasant duty to lay before you the report of the first Industrial Conference, held last year at Benares. Along with it I wish to place before you a report of the work of the Conference during the year which is about to close. And, lastly, I ask you permission to present you also with a very useful Directory of Indian industries and Indian goods which has been published by the Conference office.

The first Industrial Conference was held in December, 1905; and, as you are all aware, the first year is a critical year in the life of all institutions. The rate of infant mortality is, I am afraid, very high among our Indian institutions; but you will be glad to learn, our institution shows every sign of a strong healthy and useful life. I ask you all, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join your good wishes with mine for the well-being of this promising and hopeful child, whom I made over the other day to the fostering care of our new president, the Hon'ble Vithaldas Thackersey.

Our object at the first Industrial Conference was threefold. In the first place we wished to collect a body of expert opinions on the different industries of India in a series of papers which would be useful to all of us for reference and for guidance. Our second object was to make our institution not merely a deliberative body discussing industrial questions during one day in the year—but a working body, doing some useful work all through the year. And our third and last object was, not to try and do this work all over the vast continent of India from one Central office, but to create Provincial Committees in all the large provinces, to promote, organise, and supervise industrial enterprises and to compile necessary information.

In fulfilment of our first object, we invited gentlemen who had devoted their time and attention to the study of special subjects to favour us with their views and opinions, and our invitation met with a most cordial response. The series of papers

which you will find in this report are written by some of the ablest men in India, Government servants and private gentlemen; and I know of no other handy and popular work published in India which contains within the same limits such valuable and practical suggestions relating to agriculture and agricultural bank, mining and minerals, cotton cultivation and hand-looms, industrial education and Indian industries. To mention a few among the papers, you will find in this volume a most valuable one on the cotton industry by the Hon'ble Vithaldas Thackersey of Bombay, who so worthily fills the chair, and you will find another on cotton cultivation by Raja Peari Mohan Mukerji of Bengal. You will find interesting papers on co-operative credit by Mr. Hope Simpson and Sir Frederic Lely, and papers on minerals by Mr. Holland and Rao Bahadur Joshi. The late Dewan of Travancore ably explains the necessity of a College of Technology in India; Mr. N. G. Mukerji writes on sericulture; and Mr. Havell and Mr. Chatterton, who have done so much for promoting our Indian industries, write on hand-looms, on chrome leather, on aluminium, and on other industries. To these, and to all other gentlemen who contributed papers to the first Indian Conference, I take this opportunity of conveying once more the cordial thanks of the Conference; and I believe their collective work will be a most useful guide to us in our labours for many years to come.

Our second subject was to make arrangements for carrying on our work all through the year, instead of being satisfied with one day's deliberation. For this purpose we established a Central office, and we were fortunate in getting so energetic, so zealous, so able a worker as Rao Bahadur Mudholkar to be our Honorary Secretary. He has devoted himself to this great task, and the success which he has achieved within the period of a twelve month, in carrying out our aims and objects, is recorded in this volume. Mr. Mudholkar has been ably assisted by his Under-Secretary, Mr. Chintamani, an untiring and zealous worker, who has within this year visited the different provinces of India, helped the Provincial Committees, compiled information and done much to promote our objects. He is peculiarly fitted for this work; and I believe it is in contemplation to allow him an assistant in the coming year, so that he may have more time

to help in the work which devolves on the different Provincial Committees. I am glad to be able to add that the subscriptions we were able to raise have covered all our expenditure; and I may remark that three public-spirited men of Baroda State came to our rescue, and subscribed Rs. 500 each when we were threatened with a deficit.

Our third and last object was to organise Provincial Committees in all the large provinces of India, and you will be glad to learn that this important work has been done. The Bengal Committee is fortunate in getting Mr. S R. Das to act as Honorary Secretary, and the Bombay Committee is equally fortunate in getting Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas to act in the same capacity. An Industrial Association, which had been founded in Madras, consented to work as the Committee of that province; Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswami Rao, of Travancore fame, is its president; and Mr. Subramania Iyer and Mr. Hanumanta Rao are its Secretaries. I have only to add that the United Provinces Committee has appointed Mr, Bhargava as Secretary, and the Punjab Committee has elected Mr. Mulkraj in the same capacity. The Provincial Committees have thus been organized, and a beginning has been made for continued and well-concerted work all through India. It is hoped that, with a greater degree of cooperation between the Central Office and the Provincial Committees, our orginization will be able to show a good outturn of work in the future from year to year.

So far, gentlemen, I have dwelt on the organisation and work of the Industrial Conference of the last year. But I would like to add a few words on the industrial activity which the whole country has manifested during the year now closing. And, first of all, we must all gratefully acknowledge the grant of five lakhs of rupees, which the Government of India has allotted in the current year's budget for this purpose, one-half of which, approximately, is for technical education. It is a small grant, considering the requirements of this vast country; but we acknowledge it with gratitude, as gratitude has been described as a lively sense of greater favours to come.

Our countrymen have also shewn a laudable activity. In Bengal a Technical Institute has been founded, mainly through the liberality of my friend, the talented and patriotic Mr. Palit, whose ill-health we all deplore to-day. The Association for

Scientific Education, founded mainly through the exertions of my friend, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghose, sent 17 students abroad in 1905,and no less than 44 students this year,for technical education. Two or three mills have also been started in Bengal, and the number of hand-looms has more than doubled within the year, bringing relief to the great weaving population of the province, and at the same time meeting the demand of home-made cloths which is increasing all over the province. I am glad to add that the Indian Stores, Limited, for which the country is indebted to the Hon'ble T Chowdhri, is now on a sound commercial basis, and similar stores are multiplying all over the country.

Among the great captains of industry and enterprise in the Bombay province, the name of the late lamented Mr. Tata stands foremost in the hearts of his countrymen; and the Iron and Steel Company, which he tried to organise, is engaging the attention of his worthy sons. Two Indian Banks have recently been started in Bombay, one of them mainly through the exertions of our worthy president, the Hon'ble Vithaldas Thackersey; and an Insurance Company has been floated under the auspices of our veteran leader and patriot, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. New mills have been started in Bombay, Ahmedabad, and other industrial towns in the West of India, and Indian Stores are also multiplying, one of the best of them having been lately opened by our Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Madras has been busy during the year with her Industrial Exhibitions and has started dye-works, weaving factories, and candle and soap factories. And we are all interested in the future success of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, which we trust will yet triumph over all its initial difficulties and prove a commercial success.

In Benares, which had the honour of being the scene of the first Industrial Conference, the silk weavers have started a Co-operative Association; and several sugar factories have been started at Cawnpur, Shahjahanpur and other places in the United Provinces. We all hope that the endeavours of the brother of the Prime Minister of Nepal to establish a glass factory near Dehra Dun will be crowned with success.

The success which has been already achieved in the Punjab in turning out glass-ware of a superior kind will be attested to

by all who were at the Industrial Exhibition at Benares last year or who have been at the splendid Calcutta Exhibition of the present year. Recently, a spinning and weaving mill has been started at Lahore, a Handloom Weaving Company at Jhullunder, and a Woollen Manufacturing Company at Amritsar. Indian Stores have been opened all over the province.

Lastly, the Central Provinces and Berar have been busy with their exhibitions, and a spinning and weaving mill and other industrial enterprises have been started at Akola.

These, Gentlemen, are a few of the indications of a healthy industrial activity which is visible all over India. The Industrial Conference claims no credit for this activity, for the Conference itself is one of the results of the spirit of the age. There is a movement which is growing and spreading day by day over the whole continent of India, which the nation has begun earnestly, and which the nation will not let die. The Swadeshi movement is an industrial revolution, more far-reaching in its effects than many political revolutions; and history will record in future ages how the people of India in the commencement of the twentieth century effected their own industrial salvation. Without any control over our own tariff or financial arrangements, without any effective voice over our own legislation or our administration—such as every other civilized nation on earth possesses to-day, and such as we are bound to obtain in the near future—without any of these privileges which are the birth-right of nations, we have determined, simply by giving preference to our home manufactures, to revive the industrial activity of this vast country, and to improve the condition of our industrial population. The call has gone forth from province to province and from village to village; and unnumbered millions are responding to the call with almost religious fervour. The womanhood of India has nobly joined in this patriotic work; and every true Indian, Hindu or Mussalman, Parsi, Jain or Christian, co-operates in this *Swadeshi* movement, and exerts himself for the industrial progress of his Fatherland. We are yet far, very far from success, but in our heart of hearts we have taken a solemn vow to work together towards this great object. And when we have passed away, our sons and grandsons will take up this holy work, and will accomplish what we have begun, giving our country her rightful, her ancient place among the industrial nations of the earth.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION.

THE HON. MR. J. CHAUDHURI'S SPEECH.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HONOUR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The first Indian Industrial Exhibition in connection with the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta during Christmas week in 1901. It was organised with the co-operation of some of the leading Indian gentlemen of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, with H. H. the Maharaja of Cooch Behar as their President. It was decided then that the Exhibition was to be dissociated from politics, and that its scope should be limited to articles of indigenous manufacture, exceptions being made in the case of machinery, educational and sanitary exhibits. The first Exhibition was planned on a small scale and was held in the western half of the Beadon Gardens. The experiment was, however, very successful and encouraging. The next year the Congress held its sittings at Ahmedabad, and an Industrial Exhibition was organised in its connection. H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda opened it with a very thoughtful and appropriate speech. In 1903 the Indian National Congress held its sittings in Madras, and the Exhibition was also held there. All communities co-operated in making the Exhibition a success. The Local Government gave a grant-in-aid to the Exhibition. The Madras Exhibition was opened by H. H. the enlightened Maharaja of Mysore. By this time the utility of the Exhibition had come to be fully recognised, and manufacturers from distant parts of India forwarded their exhibits to the Madras Exhibition. In 1904 the Congress held its session in Bombay, and a strong representative Committee was formed to organise the Exhibition. The Government lent the site of the Oval, and through its Agricultural and other Departments also co-operated with the Exhibition Committee in the collection of exhibits. His Excellency Lord Laming-

ton, Governor of Bombay, opened the Exhibition, and observed in the course of his speech: "I am always pleased to hail any sign of self-help or powers, such as I have described, of organisation, amongst the people of the country". At Bombay a Ladies' Section in connection with the Exhibition was first organised. In December 1905 an Exhibition was held in Benares in connection with the 21st Indian National Congress. The Maharaja of Benares opened that Exhibition.

THE PARTITION.

After five years the turn for the holding of an Industrial Exhibition in connection with the annual sittings of the Congress has fallen on Calcutta. The unsettled condition of the public mind owing to the partition, the distress in Eastern Bengal, and the high prices prevailing throughout the Bengal Presidency have added to the difficulties of the organisation of the present Exhibition. Without the co-operation of the Government it would have been impossible to obtain a suitable site for the holding of the Exhibition. (Cheers.) The best thanks of the promoters and organisers of the Exhibition are due to both the Government of Bengal and the Government of India for placing the site adjoining the Presidency General Hospital at their disposal (cheers) and for affording all the necessary facilities for the holding of the Exhibition. No sooner the site was granted, a representative Committee was formed for the organisation of the Exhibition. In spite of the difficulties mentioned and new developments, such as floods in Behar and Bengal, the Committee have faced the situation boldly and tried to do their best under the circumstances.

An Exhibition planned on the present scale requires no inconsiderable outlay of capital. The Committee looked up to some of the leading men in Bengal and Behar, who combine in them the qualities of education, public spirit and wealth for backing them in this great enterprise. It is not merely from houses of such distinction as those of H. H. the

Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, H. H. the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, Maharajah of Durbhanga, Maharajah of Cossimbazar, Rajah Peary Mohan Mukerjee, M. A., Maharajah Sir Jotendra Mohan Tagore, the Roys of Bhagyakal that the Committee have received liberal support, but they have received no less encouragement from a number of gentlemen who have attained distinction either in business or in professional circles. The names of these distinguished gentlemen will be found amongst the list of guarantors and members of the Executive Committee. The Corporation of Calcutta has also made a grant of Rs. 10,000 in aid of the Exhibition, and the Committee has been put under great obligation to it by the active co-operation of its Chairman, the Hon'ble Mr. C. G. H. Allen, in the work of the Exhibition. (Cheers.) Although the Committee have adhered to the principle of self-help in the work of organisation, yet it has sought the advice of representative men of other communities, and the Committee have thus secured the whole-hearted sympathy of all classes.

POPULARITY OF THE EXHIBITION.

The popularity of the Exhibition amongst the manufacturing classes in this country may be best judged from the fact that the accommodation provided in the original plan had to be increased by one-half of as much more of the covered space to enable the applicants to obtain even the minimum space that can be allotted to them under the regulations. This additional construction had cost on the Committee a responsibility which they could have hardly discharged without the pluck, energy and resources of the Exhibition contractor, Babu Jangat Sing. A strong Building Committee composed of such men as Mr. R. N Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur Krishna Chandra Banerjea, Rai Saheb Beni Madhab Mitra have helped the Committee with their expert knowledge. The work of supervision has been carried on in the most ungrudging and effective manner by Mr. Haridas Das, a very promising member of the Public Works Depart-

ment of the Government of Bengal. The Committee has been assisted by a staff whose devotion to duty is deserving of the highest praise. The gardening has been done under the able supervision of Mr. S. P. Chatterjee. The thanks of the Committee are also due to Mr. S. C. Sen, the Electrician in charge of the Presidency General Hospital, for supervision of the lighting installation of the Exhibition. In an Exhibition of this kind it would not have done to disappoint Indian exhibitors or artisans, who either forward their exhibits at no inconsiderable cost or visit the Exhibition at even greater sacrifice to themselves. If the Committee have failed to discharge their responsibilities in any respect, it is through their desire to do the best that they could for all parties concerned in this Exhibition.

The number of registered exhibitors is over one thousand, which means several thousand exhibitors, because in many cases provincial or district exhibits which have been forwarded by local Committees have been counted as a unit. The Exhibition now covers an area of nearly 22 acres, and of this only so much open space has been left as imperative in the interest of public safety and convenience. It is regarded by many as the biggest Exhibition that has ever been held in Calcutta. The roads alone aggregate to about three miles in length.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The special acknowledgments of the Committee are due to Messrs. Martin & Co. and Mr. Thornton, their Architect, who has planned the Exhibition according to the suggestion of the Committee. A temporary structure intended for a show lasting for a month does not offer much scope for architectural beauty. But the monotony of iron sheds has been broken by the gateways designed in genuine Oriental style, credit for which is due to Mr. Thornton. The main gate is in the Indo-Saracenic style, and reminds one of the architecture of Delhi and Agra. The central tower in the middle of the Mina Bazar is in pure Hindu style, and reminds one

of the mighty temples of Orissa. Every visitor to the Exhibition is full of admiration for the gateways and towers, and regrets that such works of art will have to be taken to pieces after the Exhibition is over

SCOPE OF THE EXHIBITION.

Although the scope of the Exhibition is limited to articles of Indian manufacture, yet foreign machinery or processes calculated to develop the resources of India are always welcome. So are educational and sanitary exhibits from outside India. If the Committee had more time at their disposal, they might have been able to make a better collection of exhibits in these directions. All the same, the exhibits in the Machinery Section are by no means poor, and are such as are likely to be useful to the Indian public.

HAND-LOOM.

The most remarkable feature of the present Exhibition is perhaps the Hand-loom Section. At the previous Exhibitions, loom exhibits were a straggling few. But at this Exhibition they form by far the largest section of all exhibits. We provided for them accommodation on a very liberal scale, yet they could not be put all together, and we have had to scatter them about all over the Exhibition sheds. Next to agriculture, weaving has been the most ancient and important industry of India, and it is gratifying to find that the "Swadeshi movement" has added a new impetus to this dying industry. It is no less a matter for congratulation to find signs of industrial awakening in other directions as well. At the previous Exhibitions there were only two or three soap manufacturers in India, who exhibited their articles, but in the present Exhibition there are quite a score of them vying with each other, the bulk of whom come from Bengal, and have come into existence quite recently. In this tropical climate where people have almost a passion for bathing, there seems to be an unlimited scope for soap, and we expect enterprise in this direction will meet with

success. Chemical industries, for which India offers very great scope, also seem to be looking up. Pharmaceutical works, pottery, glass manufactures, all seem to be making headway.

TOBACCO GROWING, ETC.

Tobacco is grown in abundance in different parts of India, and Indian cigars have already made their mark in the world, and there are indications at this Exhibition that cigarette industry in India may, before long, attain a similar position. Match manufacture also seems to be receiving considerable attention. Indian artisans are noted for the quickness of their understanding and the dexterity of their hands. Their drawback is want of education. Labouring under such a disadvantage they readily take to imitation. The steel trunk industry, to which the artisan class has taken of their own initiative, is an example on the point. Husking machines, steam engines, manufactured by illiterate workmen, also indicate their latent inventive genius. The sugar industry in Bengal has considerably suffered in recent years through German and Austrian competition. With a view to revive this industry, co-operation of the Government of the United Provinces has been sought and obtained. The Sugar Factory set up by Mr. Wadi, the Assistant Director of Agriculture of the United Provinces, is highly instructive and interesting. It is a matter for congratulation that the Education Department of the Government of Bengal has come forward as an exhibitor. The Sibpur Engineering College and the District Board Technical School exhibits form a very interesting feature of this Exhibition. Some of the colleges have also sent scientific and literary exhibits. The idea is an excellent one, and such healthy competition between the educational institutions in the country deserve every encouragement. The stall of the Shahitya Parisat shows the fruits of their labour in the region of Bengali literature. The portraits of the Mahomedan Viceroys of Bengal and the loan collec-

tion from Murshidabad and other ancient places are of uncommon interest.

COMMITTEE'S THANKS.

Our best thanks are due to Mrs. P. N. Bose, Mrs. Allen, Mrs. P. K. Roy, Mrs. N. N. Bannerjee and Mrs. Mukerjee for having relieved us of our responsibilities in connection with the "Ladies' Section". The women of India are in every sense the better halves of men in such world-famed industries as Dacca muslin, Lucknow chikan, Ludhiana phulkaris, Amritsar and Kashmir shawls, etc. It must not be supposed, therefore, that the articles in the Ladie's Section, excellent as they are, exhaust the artistic capacity of the womankind of India.

The Eastern Bengal, Assam and Manipur exhibits are also deserving of special attention. The credit of the collection and its artistic display are entirely due to Rai Bhupal Chandra Bose, Bahadur, Assistant Director of Agriculture of Eastern Bengal. A glance at the exhibits raises the question in the mind of every true Bengali: "What is Bengal without Eastern Bengal"!

ARTS IN INDIA.

Art exhibits peculiar to India, such as ivory carving, clay-modelling, brocade weaving, calico printing, embroidery in gold, silk and wool, inlaid work on wood and metal, filigree and other works in the jeweller's line, receive a great impetus from such an Exhibition. In respect of some of these, the Committee has taken care to exhibit how, by crude appliances, such works of rare beauty are turned out. It is also pleasing to find that the noble art of painting and statuary which had fallen into decay in India is also showing signs of revival. In short the Exhibition as a whole gives an indication of the various forces that are now working both from inside and outside on the Indian community in determining the industrial destiny of the Indian nation. It is full of lessons and suggestions to the Indian people and also to the outside world. (Loud cheers.)

H. H. THE MAHARAJAH OF DURBHANGA'S SPEECH.

In requesting His Excellency the Viceroy to declare the Exhibition open, the Maharajah of Durbhanga said :—Your Excellencies. Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is not the first time that an Exhibition has been held of the products of Indian industry. Since 1901 it has been an annual institution, but it has never before been held on a scale like the present. Occupying about twenty-two acres of land, it is the largest Exhibition ever held in Calcutta. Government have been pleased to grant the site and to afford every facility. The Corporation of Calcutta has made a grant of Rs. 10,000. Native Princes and Chiefs and members of the aristocracy have contributed to its funds, and it has enlisted popular sympathy and support to an extent much larger than what had been offered to any of its predecessors. This Exhibition, therefore, may be regarded as a national one, representative of all India. The object being the advancement of Indian industry, the Committee have felt themselves at liberty to admit specimens of foreign machinery and also educational and sanitary exhibits from foreign countries. We have reasons to expect many beneficial results. An Exhibition is something more than an advertisement of the articles exhibited and of the parties exhibiting them. It stimulates the taste of the public and creates a demand by offering a supply. It is an object-lesson to all interested in arts and industries. It is an index to the condition of the industries, which ruler and subject are alike interested in taking a note of. It is an incentive to progress by suggesting ideas of a healthy competition and of the possibilities of improvement. Tending to open out fresh markets for the commodities exhibited, it is of advantage alike to consumer and producer. Repeated Exhibitions of Indian goods have brought them to the notice not only of a larger section of the Indian people than what was formerly aware of their existence, but also of the people of other countries. The people of the West have now

acquired and devoloped a taste for Indian art-ware which they could never have derived from a reading of works on history or of official reports. England to-day is a substantial consumer of the choicest products of Indian art. I fervently hope that the market for Indian goods will be extended not only in India itself but all over the world, and that all the advantages which I just described as likely to arise from Exhibitions generally, will result in a special measure from this particular Exhibition. Every European that comes to the Exhibition and carries home an Indian article will forge a fresh link in the chain that unites England to India.

My Lord, it is with a peculiar pleasure that I welcome your Excellency and this great assembly in this hall. A hall of industry is a hall of peace. Here the voice of controversy is hushed. I invite you to witness some of the triumphs of peace, which have been pronounced on high authority to be no less glorious than those of war. I heartily wish that the triumphs will multiply as time advances, and that, in a temple of concord like this, the bonds of union between different races, creeds, and classes, may be constantly renewed and strengthened. It is a trite saying that the wealth of a country depends upon its commerce and industries. India has been the home of many industries, but they need to be adapted to requirements of modern times. In consequence of a lack of adaptation and of many other circumstances, such as the conditions of Indian social life, the shyness of capital, the altered tastes and habits of the people, and the opening out of new walks of life, some of the old industries have nearly died out. Some others have been dwindling. Handicrafts, remarkable in their way as proofs of manual skill and industry, have had to face an unequal competition with mechanical appliances of ever increasing power and refinement. Children of artisans, when they have received the elements of a school education, and still more when they have tasted of higher education, which under British rule has been thrown open to all, have shown an unwillingness to pursue the tradi-

tional occupation of their families. When the ranks of any class of artisans have been thinned in this way, caste rules have stood in the way of their being recruited from other classes. The tastes of the people have been so altered that they find some of the products of the old industry as either too fine or too coarse. So many new careers have been opened out by Government and by mercantile men that many have deserted the old industries in the hope of making surer and larger gains than what they could expect from the old avocations of their fathers. Government have for many years sought to create a taste for industries among the people, and with that end in view have established schools of science and industry, have founded scholarships to enable Indian youths to receive a scientific and technical education in the West, have established departments for scientific research and surveys, have appointed experts to act as advisers to Government and as popularisers of knowledge among the people, and have been, as far as possible, patronising the products of indigenous industry. I am not aware of a truer friend and patron of Indian industry than your Excellency. In your speech in Council on the Budget in last March you were pleased to say: "I say to the supporters of Swadeshi, that if Swadeshi means an earnest endeavour to develop home industries in an open market for the employment and for the supply of the people of India, no one will be more heartily with them than myself". We therefore felt emboldened to ask your Excellency to open the Exhibition, and we are deeply thankful that you have consented, in spite of the numerous calls on your time and attention, to discharge the office. We also heartily thank Her Excellency Lady Minto for gracing the occasion with her presence. The Exhibition could not be opened under happier or more august auspices, and it is now my pleasing duty as President of the Exhibition Committee to invite your Excellency to declare the Exhibition open.

H E. LORD MINTO'S SPEECH.

HIS EXCELLENCY, in declaring the Exhibition open. said:—Maharajah, your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I understand this is the second time the Indian Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition has been held in Calcutta. The first occasion was, I believe, in 1901, the year in which the Exhibition was inaugurated, and I am very glad to be here to-day to offer it a hearty welcome on its return to the capital of India.

I must thank you, Maharajah, for the cordial reception you have extended to me on behalf of your Committee, and I would venture at the same time to congratulate you on the wise and thoughtful words of your Address.

You have reminded me of my reference to Swadeshi in my speech in Council last March, and I hope that my presence here may be some indication of the fulfilment of the promise of support I then held out to those who are earnestly endeavouring to develop home industries in an open market for the employment and for the supply of the people of India.

I see around me the results of their labours, and I am gladly here to-day to help them. I understand, Maharajah, it was wisely decided at the inauguration of the Exhibition that it was to be dissociated from politics, and I trust we shall all benefit this afternoon by breathing the bracing air of a non-controversial atmosphere. I shall, at any rate, rejoice if my presence should contribute to confirm the dissociation of honest Swadeshi from political aspirations. There is no occasion, there is no justification for confusing the two. And this Exhibition will do a great work for India if, whilst recognising the right that every man has to his own political opinions and the right to make them known, it enables us all to meet on a Swadeshi platform where, irrespective of our political views, we can work hand in hand for the good of the people. We shall all do well to recognise that, though industrial necessities and manufacturing interests must go far to shape the policy of India, that is a very diffierent thing from attempting to direct and control those industries and interests for political purposes.

I am looking forward, Maharajah, to the opportunity you have afforded me of seeing for myself the many articles of interest the energy of your Committee has collected here. I cannot tell you how heartily I sympathise not only in their endeavours to develop industrial resources, but in all they are doing to preserve those characteristic native arts for which India for centuries has been celebrated, and skilled handicrafts which the modern world can never hope to rival; whilst in the larger sense of production for purposes of every-day utility and consumption, they have recognised the necessity for the adoption of machinery which modern science has made available to the manufacturer. In these days of competition and of ever-advancing mechanical discovery India cannot lag behind. We cannot expect the Indian public, for sentimental reasons, to buy what is inferior and behind the times. Sad as it is to see ancient industries give way to novel methods, we should be prepared to welcome all that is good in the inevitable, to adapt our populations to the demands of modern requirements, and to educate them in the knowledge of modern inventions. This Exhibition has already done much to indicate to the Indian manufacturer the paths that lead to success. I hope, too, that the Department of Commerce and Industry, over which the Hon'ble Mr. Hewett has so ably presided, has shed an influence over Indian commercial life which may have great results in the future.

I congratulate the Committee of the Exhibition on the support they have received from Indian Princes and Chiefs. They have, I can assure them, the warm sympathy of the Government of India, and I know that they have no truer friend in Bengal than Sir Andrew Fraser.

Maharajah, I have to thank you for your kind references to Her Excellency and myself. I shall watch the efforts of your Exhibition with the deepest interest, and I have now great pleasure in declaring it open.

THE BHARAT-DHARMA-MAHAMANDAL.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF DURBHANGA'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

MAHARAJAS, RAJAS AND GENTLEMEN,—

WE have met here to-day for a purpose which yields to none in importance among the numerous objects for which meetings are being held in this season, not only in this town, but in various other chief cities of this Empire. Our purpose is to popularise in Bengal an institution which is already fairly well established, which has numerous branches, and is very well known in several other parts of India, and which is doing good work. That institution is the *Sri Bharat-Dharma-Mahamandal*. I shall presently state the objects and the constitution of that body. I shall only say by way of preface that an All-India organisation has become necessary for the preservation, the propagation and the development of ancient eastern learning and our venerated Sanatan-Dharma. If it is generally true that national life is impossible without a national religion, it is especially so in this country. Religion is the most vital fact in the East. It influences the life of the people in every detail. It is the basis of Hindu society. The Hindu religion and Hindu society have had many ramifications in modern times, but there is an essential unity underlying them all. What is wanted is an organisation to bring that unity into prominence, to promote understanding and sympathy among the several divisions, and so to help in building up a Hindu National life. Whatever may be the case in other countries, no bond is stronger than that of religion in this country and among the Hindus. Religion is here not only the most powerful of ties, but it is the chief inspiration. Nothing else can take its place. No real friend of the people can, therefore, look with uncon-

cern upon the symptoms of a growing religious indifference among some classes. At the same time it is impossible not to rejoice at signs of a deepening religious feeling among the people generally, and a growing desire to revive national ideas, institutions and modes of life. A taste for indigenous arts and industries has been awakened; and this is only one aspect of the growing national feeling. The time seems to be favourable for rescuing the weak and co-operating with the zealous in restoring to religion its proper place in the mental and social life of the people. The *Mahamandal* claims to be precisely such an organisation as that which I have just described as necessary for effecting a national regeneration through religion.

2. The work of the *Mahamandal* has been divided under five departments:—

I. The *Dharma Prachar Vibhaga*— *i.e.*, the department for the propagation of the *Sanatana Dharma*. It is intended to send religious preachers to all parts of the country and to publish and distribute religious tracts through its branch *Dharma-Sabhas* in the principal towns and villages of the country. Nearly 500 branch *Sabhas* have already been established in Northern India, Rajputana, &c., and five Provincial *Mandals* have been established in Upper India, and these are doing much good work in their respective spheres. We hope to see similar Provincial Offices established in Madras, Bombay and Central India.

The *Mahamandal* has three orders of religious preachers and instructors—(1) *Upadeshakas*, (2) *Mahopadeshakas*, *and* (3) *Maha-mahopadeshakas*. They are about one hundred and fifty in number and are rendering most useful service to the cause.

II. The *Dharmalaya-Sanskar-Vibhaga*—*i.e.*, the department for the control and better management of the existing Hindu religious endowments, charitable institutions, *Tirthas* (sacred places), shrines, &c. The work of

this department is divided under three classes—the inspection of religious endowment institutions, and shrines, &c., the auditing of their accounts as well as the supervision of their management. For this purpose the *Mahamandal* hopes, whenever called upon, to assist and, whenever funds permit to do so, to engage inspectors for shrines, religious and charitable institutions, employ religious preachers and publish books and pamphlets containing full details and instructions on the subject. The work of the department has been taken in hand and a commencement made by the Head Office of the *Mahamandal*.

III. *The Vidya-Prachar-Vibhaga* (*Sri Sarada Mandal*)—*i.e.*, the Department of Education, which aims at restoring the *Prachin-Vidya-Pithas* (ancient seats of Sanskrit learning) and also better controlling and managing the affiliated Sanskrit schools existing in different parts of India. Under this department is being prepared a new and revised scheme of education, which will combine with learning of the ancient Sanskrit all that is the best and the most useful to us of the Western knowledge. The *Sarada Mandal*, in short, will be both a teaching as well as an examining body, providing for physical, intellectual and, above all, the religious training. Of the eight great ancient *Vidya-Pithas* in India, which the *Mahamandal* has undertaken to restore and revive, one has already been taken in hand, namely, the *Vidya-Pitha* of Mithila, formerly the most distinguished seat of Vedic learning.

IV. The *Pustaka-Sangraha-Anusandhan-Vibhaga*—*i.e.*, the department for the collection of Sanskrit books and old manuscripts and comparative research in old and new literature, philosophy and science. Under this department is now being prepared a complete and systematic bibliography of Sanskrit literature, philosophy and science, and it is also intended to write and edit books on various subjects, such as *Vaidic* and *Jyotish Shastras*, &c., incorporating the researches into ancient works with the most recent

and modern developments. Our grateful thanks are due to Sri Swami Brahmanath Ashram Ji for the eminent services he has been rendering in this connection.

V. The *Shastra-Prakasha Vibhaga—i.e.*, the department for the printing and publishing of eight monthly journals in different languages on India, of religious tracts, and authoritative books on Hindu science, philosophy, &c.

3. The *Mahamandal* includes in its organization five classes of members :—

(*a*) The *Sanrahshakas* or patrons: This order consists of the Hindu Ruling Chiefs and the *Dharma-acharyas* (heads of different religious schools). Within this short period nearly all the *Darmacharyas* of India have joined this institution and have sent messages of kindly encouragement to us; and about twenty Ruling Chiefs have generously come forward to support the movement. To the great *Acharyas* I beg to offer, as President of this Association, our most respectful salutations and to the Chiefs our grateful thanks.

(*b*) The *Pratinidhis*: Composed of the prominent members of the aristocracy, Rajas, and of the leaders of our communities, these number at present over one hundred.

(*c*) The *Dharma-Vyavasthapakas*: This class consists of distinguished Sanskrit pandits (*Adhyapakas*) of all parts of the country from whom decisions on religious questions may be obtained whenever necessary.

(*d*) *Sahayaka-Sabhas*: or special members consisting of supporters of the *Santana Dharma*, from whom help in the work of the *Mahamandal* has been received in the past and expected in the future.

(*e*) The *Sadharana Sabhyas*: or ordinary members: Every Hindu by signing a declaration promising his support to the Hindu religion and making a small contribution towards the *Mahamandal* fund is enrolled as a member of this Association. The last two classes are open to both sexes.

4. I am anxious that our purposes should not be misunderstood. The *Mahamandal* seeks to encourage National education and to build up National life through National religion. I use these phrases in no political sense, nor do they imply any political aim. The *Bharat-Dharma-Mahamandal*, as its name implies, is a body whose functions are confined to religion. It seeks to reorganise religion, to strengthen the religious foundations of society and to extend and popularise religious education. We have no politics, or if we have any, they are all summed up in one word: loyalty. With the Hindus loyalty or *Raj-Bhakti* is an element of religion. The Hindu almanacs mention the days astrologically fit for *raja-darshan* (*i.e.*, the day on which a subject should be presented to his sovereign). The Hindus are tied to the soil of India in such a way as people of no other race or religion can be. By reason of their religion and the constitution of their society, they could not leave this country, under any circumstances whatever. There is no country in the world other than India that the Hindu can ever call his own. A people such as this cannot but feel as inseparably attached to their rulers as they are tied to their country. They have no interest outside India, they cannot marry or form any ties or connection in other countries, and all the traditions of their religion are connected with loyalty to the Sovereign Power. *A Hindu Nihilist is a contradiction in terms.* I cannot conceive that any one who calls himself a Hindu, be he a ruling Chief, or a member of the aristocracy, or a representative of the people, can be anything but loyal to the British connection. Government must be aware of these circumstances, and I am therefore unable to agree with any person who may think that Government will be disposed to unduly favour the followers of other religions at our expense. We Hindus, however, have one thing to learn from Mahomedans. With them religion is still a living principle and acts as a strong bond of union. There is discipline in their society; and there is recognition of social leadership.

It is the object of the *Mahamandal* to make Hindu society all over India a compact body united by a religion, which, however divergent in details in its various branches, is essentially one; and it seeks to restore discipline in Hindu society by the recognition of local *Samajpatis* or social leaders.

5. The programme here sketched is undoubtedly an ambitious one, but it is one which, with due help from the representatives of the Hindu community and with countenance and encouragement of our English rulers, is certainly not impossible of accomplishment. I earnestly hope that the co-operation we seek will not be wanting, and that the institution will not be allowed to suffer for want of resources. As on previous occasions, I appeal for help both in regard to funds and active workers for the cause. In the words of the ancient sloka of Sri Vyasa:—

त्रेतायां मन्त्रशक्तिश्च ज्ञानशक्तिः कृतेयुगे ।
द्वापरे युद्धशक्तिश्च सङ्घशक्तिः कलौयुगे ॥

The power of *jnana* is useful in the *Satya-yuga*, that of *mantras* in the *Treta-yuga*, that of arms in the *Dwapara-yuga*, and that of united and peaceful action in the *Kali-yuga*.

6. I hope I shall not be understood to imply that we value religion only as an instrument for secular purposes, only as a means, for instance, of social regeneration, even the building up of a nationality. Religion is essentially an affair of the inner and not of external life. Its aims are fixed on high. And I would not say one word which would tend to lower that ideal. But it so happens in God's economy that the external is ruled and determined by the internal, that social and political life is then only fit and abiding when it grows out of the character, and that character must always be founded on religion. The educational, social, and national progress that I have foreshadowed as the likely result of a reawakened and reorganised religion is not the end. Religion stands on its own merits and is its

own end. Its importance does not arise from the results; but without it the results would not be.

And now I have done. I feel sure that a movement with purposes like those I have just mentioned must commend itself to you, and heartily invite your assistance in advancing it by every means at your command.

7. I cannot more fittingly conclude this address than by recalling the command given by Sri Krishna in the following slokas of the Gita :—

A man also being engaged in every work if he put his trust in Me alone, shall, by My divine pleasure, obtain the eternal and incorruptible mansions of My abode. With thy heart place all thy works on Me ; prefer Me to all things else ; depend upon the use of the understanding, and think constantly of Me. For by doing so thou shalt by My divine favour surmount every difficulty which surroundeth thee.

सर्व्वकर्म्माण्यपि सदा कुर्व्वाणो मद्व्यपाश्रयः ।
मत्प्रसादादवाप्नोति शाश्वतं पदमव्ययम् ॥
चेतसा सर्व्व कर्म्माणि मयिसन्यस्यमत्परः ।
बुद्धियोगमुपाश्रित्य मच्चित्तः सततं भव ॥
मच्चितः सर्व्वदुर्गाणि मत्प्रसादात्तारिष्यमि ।

THE INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

BABU NORENDRO NATH SEN'S WELCOME ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, DELEGATES TO THE SOCIAL CONFERENCE, and all friends and sympathisers of the movement present here :—

On behalf of the Reception Committee, I accord to you, one and all, a most hearty welcome to this, the third Social Conference assembled in the capital of India. I feel a peculiar pleasure to welcome you to this Conference, because it meets in a province, which is known as the home of social reform, having been the birth-place of such distinguished social reformers as Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Babu Keshub Chandra Sen. It was from here that the tide of social reform surged into other parts of India, nearly a century ago, when the first of the great triumvirate I have mentioned, led his crusade against the revolting practice of *Sati*. The next great victory of social reform was achieved, just 27 years later, by the passing of the Hindu Widows' Re-marriage Act, chiefly through the untiring exertions of Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. The extension of female education, the discouragement of early marriage, the emancipation of the Hindu widow, the advocacy of temperance, and other beneficent works filled the life of Keshub Chandra Sen, along with the religious movement of the Brahmo Samaj. A nation that can produce three such great men, within a little more than sixty years, has, indeed, the right to be called blessed, and exceedingly fortunate must one deem oneself to have the privilege of welcoming such a large and distinguished assembly of his countrymen and countrywomen, either associated or sympathising with the movements, which those great men pioneered in defiance of all difficulties. It is a matter for special congratulation that the deliberations of this Conference are to be presided over by our esteemed and distinguished countryman, Sir Chunder Madhab Ghose, who, as one of the prominent leaders of Hindu Society, has done much, by his own example, to further the cause of social reform in Bengal. He has carried out a notable social reform in his

own family, the result of which is the introduction of inter-marriages among the members of the Kayastha community in different parts of the country. The Conference could not have chosen a worthier President than this distinguished jurist and influential leader of the Hindu community in Bengal, and I beg to tender him, on behalf of the Reception Committee, our cordial thanks for having consented to accept the Presidentship of this Conference. Great as my pleasure is, ladies and gentlemen, to welcome you to this Conference, it is mixed with sadness, for in this great assembly we miss our beloved brother, Ananda Mohun Bose, whose death has been a severe loss not only to the party identified with social reform, but to the nation, as a whole. According to Beaconsfield, one who affects the mind of his generation is a great man. Ananda Mohun Bose affected the minds of his countrymen by his charming personality, his pure, unreproachable character, his deep piety, his fervent patriotism, and his zealous interest in the cause of social reform. Though dead, his spirit is and shall always be with us. Death has also removed from our midst, during the year, two more of our distinguished countrymen, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji and Mr Justice Budruddin Tyabji, who took a special interest in the Social Conference. Their loss is deeply regretted by the nation. We have sustained yet another great loss by the sudden death in this city, a couple of days ago, of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Samuel Smith, who came out to attend the Temperance Conference. He was a sincere friend of Indian social reform, and his loss is keenly felt by us all.

Ladies and gentlemen, in spite of occasional ups and downs which every individual, every society is subject to, I am happy to be able to say that we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the increasing interest that is being shown in the work, which we all have at heart, and for which we have been labouring strenuously for so many years. We have special reasons for congratulation on this occasion, for there has been, through God's blessing, a national awakening in all directions, such as we never had the good fortune to experience before. The whole of the Orient is enthused with a new spirit, and it seems as if it has pleased the Great Disposer of all events, to bring this hapless land at last out of the gloom in which it has been plunged for centuries. From all that is happening

around us, we may well take heart and count on a great future awaiting India. I need not say that it rests with us, individually and, as a body, to lead our cause to a glorious victory. As we will, so shall we win. The path of social reform is no doubt beset with more difficulties than that of any other reform, but from all we can see, we have no reason to despair. Are we not advancing a step further every year? Do we not find our movement gaining fresh vitality, and breaking down one after another, the barriers on its way? It may be accused of being too much of an optimist, but the phenomenal progress of the Swadeshi movement, which means the industrial awakening of the nation, assures me that this, our social movement, will very soon bring about a social awakening of a no less hopeful character. There was a time—and that not long ago—when the industrial question was treated with supine indifference by our countrymen. Whoever dreamed, then, of the colossal proportions, which the industrial movement has now assumed? So, is it too much to expect that the same will be the case with the movement with which this Conference is identified, and in furtherance of which it has been toiling hard for the past nineteen years?

To-day, our Social Conference enters upon the 20th year of its existence, and is it at all unlikely that it will, within the next few years, stir the national heart as much as the industrial movement has done?

Ladies and gentlemen, for my part, I am convinced that our work of nation-building has commenced in dead earnest, and that social reform will be one of the pillars on which the structure of our national regeneration will be raised. Taking a rapid view of the general situation, I may point out that, in addition to this Social Conference, various Caste Conferences have taken up the question of social reform with sincere earnestness. The Kayasthas, the Kshattriyas, the Bhumiar Brahmins, the Kalwas, the Rajputs, the Jains, the Vaishyas, the Kanyakubja Brahmins, and various other castes, have organised associations and conferences to solve the social problems peculiar to themselves. One of the pleasing signs is the slow, but perceptible, awakening of the orthodox Hindu community. The last meeting of the Sri Bharat-Dharma-Mahamandal, held under the presidency of the Maharajah of Durbhanga, dis-

cussed the important question of the education of Hindu girls, and recognised its importance. The social activities of the Arya Samaj of the Punjab require no mention. The extent to which the social movement has advanced in that province, may be judged from the fact that, only a few days ago, the Central Kshattriya Conference of Lahore sent a special deputation to welcome the young, enlightened Maharajah of Burdwan on his return home from his European tour. In South India there are two powerful bodies, devoted to the cause of social reform, namely, the Madras Social Reform Association and the Madras Hindu Association. The latter was founded by such leading members of the Hindu community as Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Row, Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Mudaliar and others. Among the objects of this Association is the "promotion of Hindu social and religious advancement on national lines, in harmony with the spirit of Hindu civilisation". Hindu Widows' Re-marriage Associations have been doing useful work in various parts of the country Not so many widow remarriages are, perhaps, solemnised in accordance with purely Hindu rites, as under Act III of 1872, the Indian Civil Marriage Act, but the progress in this important branch of social reform is, on the whole, satisfactory. There is a great need in India for Widows' Homes. The first Hindu Widows' Home was started at Barnagore in Bengal by Babu Sasipado Banerjee. Mr. Malabari has started the project of a Widows' Home in Bombay on somewhat ambitious lines. It is to be called the "Sukha Sadan", and I understand that a suitable site for it is being looked for. I have not doubt that the scheme will soon be an accomplished fact. The best Widows' Home, however, is to be found in Poona, called the Kharve Widows' Home. I may mention, that it is proposed to start a Widows' or Nursing Home in Bengal, by some of our ladies. Efforts are being made to start Widows' Homes in other parts of India.

The most gratifying circumstance is that our ladies themselves have begun to take a deep interest in questions relating to their own progress and welfare. For the past few years, Indian ladies' gatherings have been most interesting adjuncts to this Conference. The first ladies' gathering was held in Bombay, the second at Benares, and this year the Indian ladies' gathering took place only yesterday in Calcutta, and was a great success.

It gives me great pleasure to say that we have been able to establish at last a Social Reform Association in Calcutta, like others elsewhere. Our Association is only two years old, and although it has not been able to do much during this period, except celebrating the Vidyasagar Anniversary, owing to the all-engrossing Swadeshi movement, we hope to be able to show a good record of progress before long. In Bengal, however, social problems, like the question of foreign travel, are gradually solving themselves Here, sea-voyage has almost lost all its terrors, social or otherwise. A large number of Hindu students have been sent to foreign countries for educational purposes by the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, besides others by Government.

Female education forms one of the central planks of the social reform movement, and its prospects in Bengal are distinctly reassuring. Hindu society is gradually realising the wrong done by it in having neglected this question in the past. The number of Hindu girls' schools is increasing every year. In round numbers, we have 2,800 secondary and primary schools for girls in Bengal, with 65,000 pupils in them, while the number of girls under instruction in primary and secondary schools for girls and boys is a lakh and nine thousand. It is generally admitted that the chief cause operating to hinder the progress of female education in Bengal, as everywhere else, is the want of qualified and respectable Indian female teachers. I am glad to say that the Government of this province is taking the necessary steps to remove this want, and it is proposed to establish training colleges for Indian female teachers. We have a number of Samitis or Associations in the two Bengals, which encourage zenana education, by awarding prizes for essays written and sent by *bona fide* zenana ladies. The Government of Sir Andrew Fraser is entitled to our best gratitude for its liberal support of female education. The Training College Scheme, when brought into operation, will be a most useful agency for the promotion of zenana educational work. Higher education among Indian girls has perhaps made greater progress in Bengal than in any other province. We have here about 24 Indian lady-graduates, besides a considerable number of under-

graduates. The apathy of Indian parents to the education of their girls is, however, still great, so much so that some institutions, in spite of the advantage of free education offered by them, find considerable difficulty in filling up the classes. But it is worth noticing that the demand for educated girls is increasing, and that, as a matter of fact, such girls, with smaller dowries, get better offers of marriage than their educated sisters. I may add that some European ladies, having no connection whatever with Christian Missions, have of late been giving their free and unselfish labours in Calcutta for the promotion of Indian female education, such as Sister Nivedita and Miss Christina Albers of Calcutta.

We have in Bengal two Indian Ladies' Journals, called the *Bamabodhini Patrika* and the *Paricharica*, both of which are conducted in Bengali, by Brahmo ladies. A Hindu Ladies' Association, called the "Mahila Samiti," has been started in Calcutta as an offshoot of the Swadeshi movement. The Samiti has been doing creditable work in furtherance of the Swadeshi cause among zenana ladies. There was a journal called *Antappur* —I do not know if it is in existence now—conducted entirely by Hindu ladies.

The prospect of female education throughout the country is exceedingly hopeful. In many parts of India, both the Government and the people are taking equal interest in the progress of female education. In the Punjab, the Arya Samaj has taken the lead in the education of Hindu girls on purely Hindu lines, and several schools have also been started by the Dev Samaj of Lahore. Besides these, there is a Government institution, called the Victoria School None of these institutions, however, imparts English education to the girls, with the result that parents desiring to give education to their girls, have hitherto been compelled to send them to schools, intended for European or Christian children. It is a matter of great satisfaction, however, to learn that an opportunity has now occurred to remove this want. During the recent royal visit to India, the Phulkian States made what is known as a *sarvarna* gift of one lakh of rupees to Their Royal Highnesses, and it has pleased them to set apart half the amount for the purpose of a Girls' High School at Lahore. The proposed institution is to be called the Victoria May Girls' High School, and its *curriculum* will include English,

Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi. Its main object is to impart a liberal education to the girls of respectable, well-to-do families under proper *purdah* management. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Charles Rivaz, is taking a personal interest in the project, and it will assuredly supply a long-felt want of the Punjabi community. In the Punjab, steps are, moreover, being taken to raise funds for training colleges, as are being done in Bengal. In the United Provinces, a Committee was appointed by the Government of Sir James Digges LaTouche to report, upon the best means of encouraging female education. The Committee, after an exhaustive inquiry, submitted their report containing certain suggestions, but the Government has been obliged to defer taking any steps for the present for financial reasons. It may be hoped, however, that the scheme, framed by the Committee, will be given effect to in a short time. Female education is making a decided headway in Bombay, especially among the enlightened Parsi community, whose ladies are as well educated as European ladies. The results are almost as gratifying in the case of Mahratta and Guzerathi ladies There are several Indian ladies' clubs and samitis or associations in Bombay. The Indian ladies in Bombay mix freely in their clubs and associations with their European sisters, and this helps much in the promotion of good feeling between the two races.

The Indian ladies of Bombay furnished a unique spectacle on the occasion of the landing of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in that city. They assembled in a body from their various clubs and associations to present an address of welcome to their Royal Highness. The address was read by Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda.

Another pleasing demonstration was witnessed in Bombay on the occasion of the return of Their Highnesses the Gaekwar and Maharani of Baroda from their European and American tours. Three of the Ladies' Associations presented addresses of welcome to the Maharani.

The progress of female education in Madras has been equally gratifying. There are two ladies' magazines, conducted entirely by Indian ladies in Madras—one in English, called the *Indian Ladies' Journal*, and the other in Telugu. The former is by far the best ladies' journal published in India. Its contributors

are principally Hindu, Mahomedan and Indian Christian ladies, and one of the most pleasing features of this bright journal is the careful collection of information relating to all the movements connected with the progress of our women. In Madras also, the ladies of distinguished Indian families associate with European ladies. The absence of the *purdah* system in both of these Presidencies and to a great extent also in the Punjab, has considerably helped the advancement of the cause of Indian female progress in those places. Female education is also making great progress in some of the advanced Native States, notably in Baroda, Travancore and Mysore. The progress, made by Indian ladies generally, may be judged from the fact that His Highness the Gaekwar lately offered a prize, through the Presidency Social Reform Association of Madras, for the best essay on "The Ideal of Hindu Womanhood, with practical suggesstions for its realisation". There were sixty essays in all received by the Committee from all parts of the country, and some of them were very creditable efforts. The prize was divided equally between Mrs. Sushila Taht Ram of Benares and Mrs. N. Naramiaswami of Bangalore. The productions of both of these ladies are said to be of exceptional merit.

I may add, that increased interest is being taken in the question of female education also by our Mahomedan brethren. The movement to establish a high-class institution for Moslem girls at Aligarh is exemplary, and I hope we shall see similar movements in other parts of the country. Anyhow, the importance of female education is now conclusively established, for you will find that at the last National Congress, a Resolution was passed in favour of national education for both boys and girls.

While talking of female education, I may be permitted to observe that it is of the utmost importance that our girls should have a sound religious education, besides a thorough training in the domestic arts. In other words, they should be so educated and trained that they may be able, when they are married, to make their homes attractive and centres of all beneficent influences. Domestic felicity cannot always be looked for from ill-assorted unions of highly educated men and illiterate and insufficiently educated women.

Early marriage is one of the great evils against which the Social Conference has been waging a keen battle ever since its foundation. The Arya Samaj has taken a most praiseworthy step by starting a number of *Gurukulas*, with the object of reviving the ancient Hindu system of Brahmacharya. More than one hundred students are studying now in the Gurukula Academy, near Hardwar. The Brahmo Samaj, and the Theosophical movement led by Mrs. Besant, are doing a great deal of good in the direction of discouraging early marriage. It would be well if your students, who have so promptly taken the Swadeshi vow, were to take a vow at the same time that they would not marry below a prescribed age. The schools and colleges, especially those under private management, should also discourage early marriage as the authorities of the Central Hindu College at Benares are doing. The custom of early marriage stands in the way of our rearing a strong and vigorous nation. This question, therefore, should occupy our prominent attention, and we should not rest until we see the practice abolished.

Intimately connected with the question of early marriage, is that of remarriage, of Hindu girl widows. This is a question of vital importance to the Hindu community. A widow marriage in high life was solemnised, not long ago, in Calcutta, the parties to which belonged to two well-known families in this city. The opinion of all advanced Hindus is distinctly in favour of the remarriage of girl-widows, and, I am sure, were it not for fear of society, many parents to-day would gladly remarry their daughters. It is not possible for those who have no widowed daughters at home to realise their terrible misery. Not long ago, a remarkable contribution appeared in the *Mysore Standard* over the *nom-de-plume*, "A Lady Student" (the real name has since been ascertained to be Padmavathi Bai of Fraserpet), given a pathetic but true description of the condition of Hindu widows. The writer asks the following questions :—

Where is the mandate that Heaven has given you to torture us in these manifold ways? Are you not ashamed to go and cry that the Government is ill-treating you, and thus make a pretence of obtaining relief by political agitation by pretending that you are among the civilised, and possess humanity, compassion and fellow-feeling in you, and therefore want political independance? Is it possible that those who cannot treat their

woman with justice, will administer the country? Will such administration be conducive to the happiness of the governed? How dare you aspire for political freedom? O, ye mock heroes, who have merely failed to prevent the slavery in which you have kept your mothers at home, your wives, your sisters and your daughters, subjected to many inflictions? Or, can you at least show some forethought to beget heroic sons, who would deliver you from the bondage from which you yourselves are unable to free"?

Can we lay our hands on our hearts, and say that what the writer has said is not to a great extent true? It is all very well for some people to oppose the remarriage of girl-widows, but parents know best what widowhood means. Early widowhood is the result of early marriage. If the marriageable age can be raised, in the case of boys as well as of girls, the chances of early widowhood will be considerably diminished.

Ladies and gentleman, there is another important question to which I would like to draw your attention. I mean the extortionate demands made on marriages of girls—a practice which is every bit as inhuman as enforced widowhood. We complain perpetually of our increasing poverty, and lay the whole blame for this upon Government, but we take no note of the fact that our poverty is due to our own evil social customs. Early marriage and the unconscionable demands made on marriages of girls are fruitful sources of impoverishment. It is a disgrace to us that we should make the holy sacrament of marriage as regarded by the Hindus, a commodity of bargain and sale. The practice is positively ruinous to the poorer middlle class. Cases happen frequently where the unfortunate father is driven to the last expedient of mortgaging or selling his last *cottáh* of ancestral ground in order to provide the marriage expenses of his daughter. No wonder, in such circumstances, the birth of a girl in a Hindu family is regarded as a positive curse. The evil is a crying one in Bengal and so is it, I am told, in Madras too. The Hindu Association of Madras, I am glad to say, is directing its efforts to diminish marriage expenses and to discourage money considerations in matrimonial alliances. A strong feeling against the practice has been aroused in Bengal, and the Kayastha Sabha, of which Sir Chunder Madhub Ghose, the esteemed President of

this Conference, is also the President, has been trying with his colleagues, for many years past, to do away with this evil. One thing, however, which the Kayasthas and some other castes have been successful in doing in Bengal, is to abolish *lowkata*, that is, the custom of giving presents on occasions of marriage and Sradh ceremonies. These were also heavy and unnecessary items of expenditure. Recently, you will be interested to learn, a society, called "Bibhaha Baya Sankotch Samiti" or Association for the Curtailment of Marriage Expenses, has been started at Chatra, near Serampore, in the District of Hughli. The promoters of this Samiti think that the evil could be considerably mitigated, if similar Samitis are started all over the country, if a magazine is published for the furtherance of the cause, and if some sort of social distinction is conferred on those who help the cause by examples of self-sacrifice. These suggestions seem to me to be eminently practical. While on this subject, I must say that the dowry system has done one good, *viz.*, that many people are compelled to delay the marriage of their girls. In Bengal, among the upper and middle classes, girls are seldom married now-a-days till they are at least 12 years of age. All the same, the evil is there, and must be eradicated in the general interests of our society.

Ladies and gentlemen, the whole question of social reform is fraught with life and death importance for our society. When the body is afflicted with a disease, we have to seek a physician to diagnose the ailment and prescribe a remedy. So it is the case with a nation. We have to see to what our national degeneration is due, and by what means the cause producing it may be removed. Our downfall is due to our sins as a nation, and those sins are perpetually crying against us. There are people who think that there is not much in social reform, or, at any rate, that it is not so important as political reform. Let me tell them that they are gravely mistaken. No less an authority than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the President of the Congress which has just closed its session, said in the course of his address: "Lastly, the question of social reform and industrial progress—each of them needs its own earnest body of workers. Each requires for it separate devoted attention. All the three great purposes, political, social and industrial, must be set working side by side. The progress of each will have its influence on the others".

Ladies and gentleman, social and political reform are indissolubly bound together We will get all the political privileges that we want when we show our fitness for them. The charge is constantly flung at our teeth by Englishmen that, while we are crying ourselves hoarse over political reform, we do not bestow a thought upon our social and moral improvement. I cannot say that we do not merit this reproach.

Only the other day, our sympathetic Secretary of State, Mr John Morley, dwelt on the need of our paying more attention to social reform. You may take it as an axiomatic truth that a socially and morally defective nation cannot be politically great. As long as we do not treat our women as they should be treated—as long as we despise and neglect our backward classes—as long as we do not purge our society of all its un-Hindu evil customs—so long we shall not move one inch forward on the path of progress. It is ridiculous for us to talk of autocracy, bureaucracy and such other things regarding our Government, when our conduct shows that we are the greatest autocrats and bureaucrats in our own homes. Our greatest sins, I say again, are in regard to our women. We should bear in mind that the sex, to which our mothers belong, claims our utmost respect and consideration. So long as our widows cry against us, our sins will not be wiped out, and so long as our sins are not wiped out, we shall have to suffer. The evils which are now prominent in our society did not exist in ancient times, and so the Hindus of those days were a great and mighty nation. We all know how Japan has become the foremost power in Asia and inferior to no nation in the world. We know also how China is trying to advance hereself by following the example of Japan. In addition to political reform, China is engaged in a vigorous campaign against her pernicious social customs. If China, the most bigoted and conservative of all nations, is able, with one stupendous effort, to rid herself of such deep-rooted customs as opium-eating, the binding of feet of her women, growing pig-tails, &c., I do not see why we cannot uproot our evil social practices which are of more recent origin.

It must be admitted on all hands that social reform in this country has not progressed in proportion to the advance that education has made under British rule. Whatever social progress we have been able to make is due to the effect of educat-

ing Indian public opinion in social matters. The three legislative enactments, passed by the British Government, bearing on social reform, namely, Lord William Bentinck's Act of 1829, abolishing *sati*, Sir John Peter Grant's Act XV. of 1856, validating remarriages of Hindu widows, and Lord Lansdowne's Age of Consent Act of 1891, were the outcomes of a strong body of Hindu public opinion having been brought to bear upon Government in favour of legislative interference. The British Government has helped us in the matter of social reform, whenever its hands have been strengthened by a sufficient body of public opinion. But the difficulty is that the mass of the people are unwilling to accept changes in their social conditions all on a sudden. Hence the path of social reform is strewn with thorns. It is very necessary, therefore, that public opinion should be educated in social matters through this Conference, the Press, and other agencies. The question of Indian social reform is not a new one. It was of as perennial an interest under Mahomedan rule as it is under the British Government. The Emperor Akbar, the most enlightened and liberal of all Mahomedan sovereigns, attempted to introduce many reforms in Hindu Society—*viz.*, (1) a fusion of races; (2) the abolition of *sati*; (3) the abolition of infant marriages; (4) the permission of remarriage to widows. In 1584, Akbar passed what was practically an Age of Consent Act, and more, since it forbade the marriage of girls under 14 and of boys under 16 years of age; while in 1587, he issued a decree permitting remarriage to widows.

Ladies and gentlemen, I need only add that our destinies lie in our own hands. It is when we are able to rouse ourselves to the sublime consciousness of our privileges as a race, once held as "only a little lower than the angels"—as a race that contributed to the progress and civilisation of the world, that we shall know how to work out our destinies as a nation.

Once again, I welcome you, ladies and gentlemen, delegates and friends to this Conference, and thank you heartily for all the trouble you have taken to be present here, and for the patience with which you have listended to me.

SIR CHUNDER MADHUB GHOSE'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am extremely thankful to you for the honour you have done me by resolving that I should preside at the deliberations of this great assembly. When the request was first made to me that I should take the presidential chair here to-day, I was extremely doubtful whether I ought to accept this onerous and difficult office. And the reasons, and, I may say, the main reasons were two-fold, first, I was not at all sure that I was equal to the task, and, secondly, being a member of the Hindu community of Bengal, I was not prepared to preside at the Conference, which had in previous years, been accepting resolutions, some of which the Hindu community at large would not accept; and it was not until after those resolutions were redrafted in the lines in which they might possibly be generally accepted by the Hindus in this Province, as also by the orthodox Hindu communities in other parts of India, and not until those resolutions were approved by some of the leaders of the Conference, that I agreed to preside here. I suppose, Gentlemen, the chief reason why I was requested to be the President of this assembly was that I had been taking some part and interest in the matter of social reforms in connection with the Bengal Kayastha Sabha, and it was presumed that I had considered and studied to some extent, the rules of our Hindu Society generally, and knew about their wants and requirements. But, gentl men, whatever may be my experience in those matters, the work before the Indian Social Conference is of a gigantic character, and requires not only very careful consideration, but also delicate handling. And I regret very much that, on account of several pressing calls upon my time, and the duties I had to perform elsewhere up to within the last 3 or 4 days, I have not had that time to devote myself to the various important matters coming up before you, in their different bearings, as I should have so much wished, so as to be of some real use to you. What I desire to say, in short, is that you must not expect from me any new thing, or any new ideas, any more than you already know. All that I propose to do—and that is all that I am able to do—is to put before you some salient points, not as theoretical, but as practical propositions.

The work which the Indian Social Conference has undertaken is, as already indicated, gigantic, and at the same time most delicate. This arises from the habits of the people and the long cherished customs of the Hindu society—a society that for ten thousand years has outlived the onslaughts of various conquering nations. It would not do, therefore, to attempt the almost impossible task of pulling down altogether that ancient and dearly beloved structure, for which millions of women have sacrificed their lives without one thought of regret. But, Gentlemen, you are all aware that there has been a general awakening throughout the country in all the activities of life, and new and advanced ideas have taken the place of the old, and this as a result of the close contact of the East and the West, brought about by the British domination. The intellect of the nation, I note, has been thoroughly roused, and it is felt all round, that those rules and ordinances which previously were adapted to the then existing circumstances cannot any longer be absolutely followed, and they require to be modified in such a manner as may suit the present conditions of society, the requirements of modern life, and the immediate environments around us.

I need hardly remind you, Gentlemen, that in India in the archaic age, the ruler, the priest and the patriarch were combined in one and the same person—the head of the family—and he regulated the conduct of all its membrs. In a later stage of development the king was the representative of God on earth, and it was from him that all authority emanated, he being held responsible for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his subjects, though, in matters of religious and social customs, which were pre-eminently founded upon religious basis, he followed the precepts of the *Rishis*. This state of things, however, received a greater shock, when the country fell into the hands of foreigners professing different religions the result being that the Hindus could no longer look to their king as the fountain head of their religion, and their social and domestic economy henceforth became the care of their own leaders, and were divorced from politics as representing the affairs of the State only. Indeed, the trend of modern civilization is the disassociation of the State from religion and social customs, and the recognition of the fact that religion

and social customs concern the people themselves, and not the Government. In this country, the practical disassociation of Government from all social questions makes it all the more incumbent upon all well-wishers of our people to take up the task of introducing reforms in our society—a task which has not been rendered easier, but rather more complex and difficult by reason of the religious basis upon which our social fabric in regard to various matters is founded. Fortunately, the subject has for some time engaged the earnest attention of a section of our leaders, and one could well hope that its importance would more largely be recognized.

I need here hardly observe that the progress of a nation connotes progress all along the line, and that no people can prosper whose social condition continues low and full of evils. A nation is but the aggregation of communities, which again consist of individuals as units: and it is obvious, therefore, that the greatness of a nation must depend upon the standard of efficiency attained by the units, as well as by the social groups, of which it is composed. The intellect of the nation, as I have already observed, has been thoroughly roused; but, unfortunately, there is a great tendency of its being unduly diverted to one channel only, namely, politics, it being almost forgotten that no people can advance politically unless their social condition is advanced, and that political advancement cannot precede, but must be accompanied, if not, preceded, by industrial, social and moral progress. It was but justly remarked the other day by the statesman that in this country "the absorption of the energies of the educated class in "politics strictly so called involves a lessening of the interest that can be bestowed on those questions which are ordinarily classed as social. It seems almost as if there were a specific amount of energy to be drawn upon with the result that an expenditure in one direction means a corresponding shortage in others". It has also been truly remarked that it is doubtful, whether in Bengal, particularly during recent years, "the forces tending towards social reform have increased as fast as the friends of India once expected". This is not mereley a matter of doubt, but I venture to say it is a fact that the most educated men of this country, who have been applying their energies to political improvements and the achievement of political franchise, have

been spending their forces in one direction and in one direction only, forgetting almost that political advancement cannot be attained unless at the same time we improve our social condition, and put our own house in order, and thereby place us in a position to assert ourselves with any chance of success. I beseech you, Gentlemen, to consider this matter carefully, not from a theoretical but from a practical point of view. There are great many evils and cankers that have been for years together eating into the vitals of our society and preventing the progress of the country. I venture to think that it should be the earnest desire and attempt of every well-wisher of this country to eradicate those evils, and remove those cankers. Those who think that we can work out the political regeneration of India and bring the whole of the people of India together and place them in a bond of unity in the present state of our social conditions are, I humbly think, living in a pleasant land of dreams. Just reflect for a moment. Taking the case of Bengal, with which I am more familiar than the other Presidencies of this vast Peninsula; there are in Hindu society four main castes, and in each of these main castes, there are so many sub-divisions. Take, for instance, one of the great communities, which flourish here namely, the Kayasthas. The members of this community, there can be no question, have sprung from the same stock. Originally there were but different families of Kayasthas:—Ghose, Bose, Mitter, Guha, Dutt, etc. Intermarriage between these different families of the community was in no way restricted; but, in course of time, these families were sub-divided into so many sub-classes and by reason mainly of these sub-classes, having taken up their abode in distinct parts of Bengal—parts between which, in those days, facility of communication was almost *nil*—intermarriage between them was practically given up. It is only during the course of the last 5 or 6 years that, by reason of the establishment of the Bengal Kayastha Sabha, intermarriage between two of these sub-classes of the Kayastha community, namely, the *Dakshinrari* and the *Bangaj* is being revived; but there is not advance in that direction amongst the other two sub-divisions namely, the *Uttarrai* and the *Barendra*. In the great Brahmins and Vaidya community also there are similar sub-divisions; and, so far as the Brahmin community is concern-

ed, no endeavour whatsoever has yet been made in the same direction. Some intermarriages, I am glad to learn, have recently taken place in the Vaidya community. I need hardly say here and this may assert without any fear of contradiction—that there is no *shastric* injunction against such intermarriages, and yet we find that, with the exception of the intermarriages that have taken place between the members, of two of the sub classes of the Kayastha community and some amongst the Vaidyas, no body is making any endeavour to promote intermarriage either between the sub-classes of the Brahmin community or between the other sub-classes of the Kayastha community. I need hardly say here that it is only by intermarriage and interdining between the different sub-classes of the same community that one can possibly hope to promote sympathy amongst themselves, and unite them in a bond of common unity. May I ask here some of our Bengal political leaders, who I see are present in this large assembly: how is it that though they are in earnest, and hope to bring about unity between all the people inhabiting this vast Peninsula, they have not yet turned their mind to unite their own people? And do they seriously expect that they will succeed in their endeavour, unless they unite their own people together in the first instance?

Then again, take the question of the marriage expenses In the Brahmin and the Kayastha communities in Bengal, specially in the latter community, the practice has grown up of making extortionate demands on the part of the bride-grooms' guardians upon the brides' guardians for marriage dowry in the shape of money and jewels, and the brides' guardians have very often to submit to these demands; and, in addition to this, auxiliary expenses in connection with marriage have now become most extravagant, the result being that many families in Bengal have been reduced to proverty; while the middle class and poor Brahmins and Kayasthas, who have marriageable girls to dispose of, are in absolute despair how to give them away. Amongst the Vaidyas, I am sorry to notice, this evil is also growing. This evil has, for some years together, been eating into the vitals of the Hindu Society in Bengal. One of the great objects that the Bengal Kayastha Sabha has in view is to curtail these extravagant marriage expenses and to put down the extortionate demands that are made

by the guardians of bridegrooms; but the endeavour of that Sabha has not, I am very sorry to say, yet succeeded, except to a very small extent. May I here again ask the Bengal political leaders whether they have made any honest endeavour to remove the cankers that exist in their society in this respect? The most remarkable feature is that almost all our leaders bitterly complain of the evils that exist; but, when the time comes for action, they never think of them but are too glad to get, when they have boys to marry as much money as they can extort, and when they have girls to give away, to get rid of them by meeting such extortionate demands with great pangs, and often with tears in their eyes. And this they have some time to do even by disposing of their own dwelling house. I seriously ask our political leaders here, do they seriously hope of national unity and national advance when they do not endeavour to bring about, among others, the fusion of the sub-castes of each community, the curtailment of the huge marriage expenses, the raising of the marriage-age of boys and girls, the advancement of female education, and the removal of social obstacles in the way of re-admission of Hindus returning from foreign countries into their society? Here, I cannot but refer to and acknowledge the good work that is being done by the Walterkrit Sabha in Rajputana, which has succeeded in greatly curtailing marriage expenses and raising the marrigeable age of girls, as also to the social reforms that have been introduced, in their respective territories by the enlightened Chiefs of Baroda and Mysore They deserve our sincerest gratitude for what they have done in these directions.

Gentlemen, in what I have just said, I pray, you should not misunderstand me I do not mean to deprecate the action of our political leaders. They are no doubt actuated by the best of motives. But what I do not mean to say is that they should not spend the whole of their forces in political agitations, but should devote some portion, at least, of their thought, care and energy towards social improvements and in eradicating the evils that undoubtedly exist in our society. The work of a social reformer, I need not hardly say here, is more real and more arduous in the present condition of the country. I say more real and more arduous, because it depends on our own exertions and not on the actions of the Government. The members of

the Congress are not required to do any act individually in order to enable them to obtain political rights and privileges; but, so far as social reform is concerned, it can only be achieved by individual actions of the members of the various communities, which exist in this country. Here lies, to my mind, the difference between the work of the Congress and of the Social Conference.

I now pass to consider what may be the duty of this Social Conference. I have already indicated that some of the resolutions which had been passed in previous years by Social Conference are unsuitable to the present social condition of the Hindu Society in Bengal at large and perhaps some other parts of India, so far as I have been able to ascertain. This Province is conservative in many respects, and it seems to me that, to insure success in the work of this Conference, it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind the great importance of caution; for, any false step, any hasty action may put back the desired progress indefinitely. There is much that is good, there is much that is precious and beneficial in our social organization, and one must be very careful before he upsets organization. We must proceed cautiously and slowly. The Hindu Society is very slow to move. It is like child which must be made to move step by step. If a few men belonging to the Hindu Society were to run out, the rest would simply look at them with amazed wonder in their eyes. That is all. We must, therefore, take the mass of the community with us, so far as it may be possible. There is no good, as it seems to me, of passing resolutions which will be quite ignored by the mass. The resolutions, however, that will be laid before you in the course of this day, have been so prepared as to meet with the least resistance from the Hindu Society. I do not mean to say that there will be no resistance. There undoubtedly will be some; but I may be permitted to say that some of the members of the Orthodox Hindu Society in Bengal, who were consulted in the matter of these resolutions, have remarked that there is nothing in them which any right-thinking man can take exception to. Encouraged by such remarks, I shall venture to ask some of our friends here to move and speak upon these resolutions.

Many of the speakers, I have no doubt, will discuss the various matters arising before this assembly with great ability

and it is, therefore, not necessary that I shall take up any portion of your time in discussing them, excepting making a few general observations upon one or two of the matters. Of the various matters you will be asked to consider to-day the most important to my mind are the fusion of the sub-castes, the curtailment of marriage expenses, the advancement of female education, the sea-voyage movement and the re-marriage of girl-widows. I have already shortly stated my views upon the importance of bringing about a closer communion between the different sub-divisions of each of the castes, and the absolute necessity of curtailing the huge marriage expenses in this country. The next matter, which demands a passing remark from me, is in respect of female education. It is idle to deny that whatever female education there is in this country, it is owing mainly to the efforts of Government. The time has certainly arrived when we should supplement the efforts of Government in that direction. It seems to me that colleges for girls only benefit a very small class of our girls. Zenana teaching by Mission ladies, as it at present exists, is very unpopular. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that a much larger number of schools should be established in different places, and that girls should be taught up to a certain standard before they are married, and that the attention of the Government and the people generally should be particularly drawn to this matter; and, further, the home-classes should be opened for the education of grown-up and married girls. Gentlemen, it is wholly unnecessary that I should dilate upon the great importance of female education. The subject has been discussed threadbare from time to time by various reformers, and I verily believe that some of the speakers here to-day will be able to speak more forcibly on the subject than I am able to do. And I shall not, therefore, take up any more of your time in making any further remarks.

Another matter upon which I desire to say a word or two is in connection with the sea-voyage movement. There are distinct Shastric texts allowing travels by sea to foreign countries for education, and it is a matter of history, nay, it is admited on all hands that, even up to the time of Mahomedan conquest of this country, the Hindus were a sea-faring people, who colonized Java, and whose ships periodically visited the

shores of China and other countries for the purpose of commerce. I believe, Gentlemen, if I am not mistaken, that it is only when the Hindus became a dependent nation that sea-voyages became obsolete. But, for some years together, voyage to England, America and other places for education is being revived; and though students returning to this country after their education in foreign countries are not generally admitted into Hindu Society yet, so far as the town of Calcutta and the neighbouring places are concered, in the present days, people returning from foreign lands are freely admitted into society, if they only conform with the practice as regards dress and living, which are in vogue amongst the Hindus. But it is not so in the mofussil. It is now, however, admitted on all hands that we can make no progress in industrial pursuits, without education and training in foreign countries. Vigorous action is being taken by the Association for Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians in sending numerous students every year to foreign countries for industrial and scientific education. If these young men who have been sent to these foreign countries, and others who are now going to those countries for education in other branches, when they come back to India, are received in Hindu Society, the problem will be solved by itself. It is remarkable that no question as to loss of caste is raised in respect to people going to Ceylon, Aden and such other places for service. No such question was raised as regards the Hindu regiments that went to Malta and China for service; and it seems to me that it is simply anomalous and inconsistent to think of raising any obststacle in the present day in the way of re-admission to society of Hindus undertaking voyages to foreign countries for education, commerce and other useful purposes. All that can be reasonably demanded of these men is that, having taken forbidden food while in foreign countries, they should perform the *Prayaschitya* ceremony; but, beyond this, it would not be reasonable to expect more from them. And I am inclined to believe that even the leaders of the Bharat-Dharma-Mahamandal would not object to the re-admission of a Hindu in similar circumstances, if he performs the ceremony to which I have just adverted.

I pass on nexty to say a word about the re-marriage of girl-widows. What the resolution on the subject aims at is

the re-marriage of such girls as are married in name only, and not widows generally. I have consulted with many of the orthodox people belonging to the Hindu Society in Bengal, and I may confidently assert that the feeling seems to be almost universal that virgin widows should be re-married. It was abundantly proved by the late lamented Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar that the ancient law-givers almost unanimously allowed re-marriage of such widows; and, it seems to me that, if the feeling of the people in this respect is so general, as I believe it to be, strenous efforts should be made to promote the cause of re marriage of virgin widows. Those, Gentlemen, who will take an active part in such a cause will not earn, I am afraid, the popularity which political leaders win, but the great God who searches the hearts of men will certainly reward them for their kind efforts. What is really required in this direction is example; a few examples, and the thing is an accomplished fact.

I hardly think it necessary to make any more observations upon the matters before you. But, Gentlemen, you will permit me to say that it will not be enough for you simply to pass resolutions. It will be absolutely necessary for one and all of you to be in earnest in carrying out the resolution into effect. One single example, I need hardly say, is equal to thousand resolutions simply put down on paper and it behoves upon you, therefore, to promote the cause of this Conference by your own practical acts. Theory, we have had enough. What we now really want is practice.

One word more, and I have done The main aim of the Indian Social Conference is to influence public opinion and to lay generally the lines in which reform should take. But the elevation of each section of the Indian community must be worked out by itself, and by its own rules. In doing this, it must not be forgotten that what is truly aimed at by this Conference is the social advancement as a whole and that, therefore, while each section is doing its best to work out its own internal reforms, there should be no display of any hostile or aggressive attitude towards other sections, but rather there should be mutual sympathy, and a strong spirit of co-operation, and joint action, so far as it may be possible. I must also remind you, Gentlemen, that the social conditions of different provinces, and of the different communities in each pro-

vince are, to some extent, divergent, and the same line of action, which may suit one may not be applicable to others. But what must be common to all is vigorous and well-sustained action by every member of each section, not simply preaching what ought to be done, but also by his individual example in carrying out the great object, which we all have in view. I wish further to impress upon you, Gentlemen, not to be satisfied with simply a theoretical belief of what is right and proper, but to act up to the courage of our own conviction. It is idle to expect that, in carrying out any reform, you will meet with no opposition or carry the whole community with you all at once. On the contrary, you should be prepared to encounter some amount of misunderstanding, possibly of some vituperation. But let me assure you, Gentlemen, that if the reform is in the right direction, all misunderstandings will gradually disappear, truth will prevail, and with God's blessing, your honest efforts will be crowned with success.

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU
ON THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN WOMEN.[1]

In moving this resolution I beg to make a slight amendment and substitute the word *Indian* for *Hindu*, for education knows no distinction of caste or creed or province. It seems to me a paradox, at once touched with humour and tragedy, that, on the very threshold of the twentieth century, it should still be necessary for us to stand upon public platforms and pass resolutions in favour of what is called female education in India—of all places in India, which, at the beginning of the first century was already ripe with civilization and had contributed to the world's progress radiant examples of women of the highest genius and widest culture. But, as by some irony of evolution the paradox stands to our shame, it is time for us to consider how best we can remove such a reproach, how we can best achieve something more fruitful than the passing of empty resolutions in favour of female education from year to year. At this great moment of stress and striving, when the Indian races are seeking for the ultimate unity of a common national ideal, it is well for us to remember that the success of the whole movement lies centred in what is known as the woman question. It is not you but we who are the true nation-builders. But it seems to me that there is not even an unanimous acceptance of the fact that the education of women is an essential factor in the process of nation building. Many of you will remember that, some years ago, when Mrs. Satthianadhan first started "The Indian Ladies' Magazine", a lively correspondence went on as to whether we should or should not educate our women. The women themselves with one voice pleaded their own cause most eloquently, but when it came to the men there was division in the camp. Many men doubtless proved themselves true patriots by proving themselves the true friends of education for the mothers of the people. But others there were who took fright at the very word. "What," they cried, "educate our women"? What then, will become of

[1] Delivered at the Social Conference.

the comfortable domestic ideals as exemplified by the luscious halwa and the savoury omelette"? Others again were neither "for Jove nor for Jehovah," but were for compromise, bringing forward a whole syllabus of compromises. "Teach this," they said, "and not that." But my friends, in matters of education you cannot say *thus far and no further*. Neither can you say to the winds of Heaven "Blow not where ye list," nor forbid the waves to cross their boundaries, nor yet the human soul to soar beyond the bounds of arbitrary limitations. The word education is the worst misunderstood word in any language. The Italians, who are an imaginative people, with their subtle instinct for the inner meaning of words have made a positive difference between *instruction* and *education* and we should do well to accept and acknowledge that difference. *Instruction* being merely the accumulation of knowledge might, indeed, lend itself to conventional definition, but *education* is an immeasurable, beautiful, indispensable atmosphere in which we live and move and have our being. Does one man dare to deprive another of his birthright to God's pure air which nourishes his body? How then shall a man dare to deprive a human soul of its immemorial inheritance of liberty and life? And yet, my friends, man has so dared in the case of Indian women. That is why you men of India or to-day what you are: because your fathers in depriving your mothers of that immemorial birth-right have robbed you their sons, of your just inheritance. Therefore, I charge you, restore to your women their ancient rights, for, as I have said it is we, and not you, who are the real nation-builders, and without our active co-operation at all points of progress all your congresses and conferences are in vain. Educate your women and the nation will take care of itself, for it is true to-day as it was yesterday and will be to the end of human life that the hand that rocks the cradle is the power that rules the world.

THE LADIES' CONFERENCE.

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH OF HER HIGHNESS THE MAHARANI OF BARODA.

BELOVED SISTERS,—You have done me great honor by asking me to preside at this Ladies' Conference When the *Mahila Samiti* sent me an invitation to Baroda to preside at this meeting my first idea was to decline the honour, as I know that there are many among you who are better qualified to preside than myself. But I felt that it was an act of kindness on your part to have sent me this invitation to the other end of India, and that it would be a poor response to your kindness if I refused your request. Therefore, dear sisters, of Bengal, I have been persuaded to accept your invitation. And if I fail to discharge my duties with the ability which, I know, many of you possess, I must ask for your indulgence, as you are yourselves responsible for electing me your President!

And first let me tell how glad and happy I feel to find myself once more among you. I have lately travelled much in distant lands, in France and England, Italy and Greece, Germany and Austria, Switzerland and America, and I have been much interested in the arts and industries, and the social and educational institutions that I have seen. But I come with different feelings to you,—I come as a returned wanderer, as an exile taken back in his home again. For there is a bond of union which unites us and makes us all India our home.

You received me kindly and lovingly, two years ago; and I feel myself as much at home in Bengal as at Baroda,—among sisters engaged in the same work and endeavours,—daughters of the same beloved Motherland.

Your *Mahila Samiti* cherishes these sentiments. One of its principal objects is to unite Indian ladies of all creeds, castes and races. Our men are drawing closer together, year after year, by means of Congress, and various Conferences and through com-

mon aims, aspirations and endeavours, but I think, in cementing the bonds of national union, we women of India, have an influence not less potent than that of men. We meet each other in our homes, we learn to know and respect and love each other within the walls of the Zenana and we strengthen those ties which hold together a nation. For, although we may live a thousand miles apart and although we may speak different languages, we are united by a bond of common sentiments and common endeavours. High or low, rich or poor, we are all proud of the same traditions of the past, inspired by the same aspirations for the future, united by the same sentiments of affection and of love. It is a happy idea, therefore, which has led the *Mahila Samiti* to try and bring together ladies from all parts of India; the more we meet, the more we know each other, the better shall we succeed in our common work and endeavours.

Another object of the *mahila Samiti* is to spread a knowledge of Indian literature and history; and in this respect also, I think, we women have a degree of influence perhaps more far-reaching than that of men. We shape the minds of our children in their infancy and boyhood, we can inspire them with a love and a legitimate pride in our past history, and we can create in them a taste for our modern literatures. I believe there are gifted ladies in this advanced Province who have written works which will live in the literature of the land. But all of us,—who are without such high gifts—have the power to train our children in a love of their own history and literature; and believe me, the teaching of the nursery have a more lasting and durable influence through life than is generally supposed. The manhood and the womenhood of India is our handiwork; let us, mothers, train the future manhood and womanhood of India to the service of our country.

Lastly, to encourage the arts and industries of India is also one of the objects of the *Mahila Samiti* and I believe of this Conference. I know how the ladies of Bengal have helped and supported the *Swadeshi Movement*, which is now spreading fast over Northern India and the Punjab, over Gujarat and the Deccan, over Madras, Mysore, and Travancore, every where over this great Continent.

From all parts of India we have watched with a wondering admiration this great movement which you have boldly started

and nobly sustained, until all India to-day is uniting in this great and patriotic endeavour. Indian stores are growing up, almost spontaneously, in every Province; mills are increasing in number in the great industrial towns of Western India; hand looms have more than doubled in Bengal within the last two years; the use of Indian metalware and other articles of domestic use is rapidly extending. I am told that thousands of weavers and workers in metal, who had lost their vocations, are returning to their looms and their anvils; and that in many a village home, our poor sisters,—the mothers and wives and daughters of our poor artisans,—are feeling a new hope, and a new incitemens to work. History, if it is a record of national progress, will record the wonderful tale of this great movement,—so recent, already so successful, and which the entire nation is so resolved to make durable and lasting. Let us, women of India, join whole heartedly in this movement, and in the selection of articles for our daily and domestic use, in the purchase of dress and ornaments for ourselves and our children, let us piously remember the claims of those tens of millions of poor Indian weavers and artisans whose suffering and poverty we have the power to remove. Wherever we may dwell in this vast country, whatever be our religious creed and profession in life, let us all unite in the common aim and endeavour to advance the progress and the prosperity of our country.

A new light is breaking on India with the commencement of a new century. Let us all pray to that Great Being who can help the poor, and raise the lowly, that it my be the dawn of a long bright day for our beloved Motherland.

The All-India Temperance Conference.

THE LATE MR. SAMUEL SMITH'S ADDRESS.

OWING to the death of the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Samuel Smith, Mr. Jones, M. P, read the speech which Mr. Samuel Smith was to have delivered as President. The speech read as follows: —

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, DELEGATES to the All-India Conference at Calcutta:—I offer you a hearty welcome as President of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society. I had the honor of presiding two years ago at Bombay, and am glad to see that the Temperance Cause is taking hold of the finest minds of India. I have had 40 or 50 years' experience of Temperance work in Great Britain. I have seen as much as any one of the ravages wrought by strong drink. Of all the evils that afflict Northern nations, none is equal to this scourge of intemperance. In our weathy England we have sections of the population sunk in deeper misery than ever you see in India. The same holds true of most Northern nations, but I am glad to tell you that a great change in public sentiment has taken place in the last few years. The drinking habit has wonderfully gone down amid the better class of our people, and though there are still drunken and debased classes in our large towns, the population, as a whole, is throwing off the dominion of this scourge.

It is our sad experience which makes us anxious that India should not become a victim to the drink plague. The mass of your people are, by conviction and religion, total abstainers. See that you preserve that honourable pre-eminence in the future. I am grieved to learn that the drink habit has made far too rapid progress in certain parts of India. Among the richer classes there is a foolish passion to imitate the vice of Europeans and amongst the poorer classes, especially in factories and that plantations, there is a very marked spread of the pernicious habit If ever India were to become addicted to strong drink as Northern nations are, the effect would be far more ruinous. Your climate makes drink tenfold more deadly than it is in old climates Men may go on using alcoholic beverages for lifetime in such a climate as ours at home without apparent injury to health; but this is impossible in India. The man or the woman who takes to drink in a hot climate rapidly goes down the hill. There is no middle course between abstinence and interference. The best

proof of this is that distilled liquors are much more largely consumed in India than malt liquors. Most of the English consumption is of beer which contains only about ten per cent. of alcohol. In India the consumption runs chiefly on whisky, gin and country spirit containing 30 to 50 per cent. of alcohol and a great deal of fusel oil which is a poisonous ingredient leading to insanity.

The object of our society is to combine all true bodies who wish the welfare of India in an attempt to arrest this plague. In doing so we have had to criticise from time to time the Abkari system. Most of you will remember that I assisted in carrying a motion in Parliment along with my friend, Mr. Caine, in the year 1889, condemning the outstill system of Bengal and the farming out of liquor to the highest bidder. The effect of that vote in the House of Commons was a despatch written to the Indian Government which led to beneficial changes in system; but they were not thorough enough, and we have had reason to criticise the action of the Abkari system for many years past.

We complained that it was too much in the hands of the Revenue Department. It is almost impossible for Revenue officers to contract the consumption of that which supplies taxation. At all events there is a natural bias in favour of a full revenue. For that reason we always held that there should be some intermediate body to grant licenses or refuse them, who had no interest in the receipts. We have met this difficulty in England by entrusting the various duties to the magistrates of the various districts. We have often had reason to criticise them severely but of late years there had been a marked improvement in the way in which they discharge their duties. They felt the impact of public opinion and public opinion is now strongly in favour of Temperance. Can we not find some such body in this country?

I think the experiment might be tried in some localities of leaving to local and municipal bodies the control of this dangerous traffic Local opinion in India will usually be on the side of Temperance. Why should not some channel be found for its expression?

I am glad to know that the strenuous efforts of the Temperance Party in India have led to the appointment of a Committee to examine the Excise System. That Committee has re-

cently presented its report. I have not had time to study it, but I am glad to notice that it adopts some of our recommendations. It utterly condemns the Outstill System. It also condemns the the selling of drink to children under 14 and the employment of barmaids. All India will heartily approve of these principles. I think it is the height of wickedness to permit children to intoxicate themselves to or contract the habit of drinking at all; and the whole sentiment of Eastern countries is opposed to women degrading themselves by standing at drinking bar.

I think I will go further and say that all India would welcome the exclusion of women from drink-shops altogether. Terrible evils have arisen in Northern countries from women drinking in public houses. Experience proves that you may reclaim a **drunken man** but it is almost a miracle to reclaim a drunken **woman.** The finer and the tenderer nature sinks to a deeper degradation than the coarser nature of man. I am glad to think, however, that as yet women are very rarely in the drink-shops of India.

Our Society is equally interested in suppressing the traffic in intoxicating drugs. The temptation in the East lies more in the direction of drugs than of alcohol. Opium, though grown in India, is not generally used as it is in China. It has wrought awful havoc in that country, and I am rejoiced to think that at last China is making an earnest effort to shake off that curse. I wish her Godspeed. I have protested for a lifetime against the opium trade. I know that this is the general feeling of the people of India who all regard it as a stain upon the British trade. It is true it will mean a loss of revenue; but the land can be used for wholesomer and better products.

We attacked with success in Parliament the opium dens in India several years ago. I believe these are now illegal; but opium can still be got by public sale which is not the case in England where it is only allowed to be sold by a chemist and labelled "poison", and by a doctor's orders. It ought to be the same in this country. Even worse evils are wrought by the hemp drugs—*bhang*, *ganja* and *hashish*. Their effects are maddening. And I am told that many of the inmates of lunatic asylums have lost their reason through the use of these drugs. Even countries so backward as Turkey forbid the use of *hashish*. We claim from the Government that the sale of these deadly drugs be declared altogether illegal.

THEISTIC CONFERENCE.

THE MAHARAJA OF MOUR-BHUNJ'S PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH.

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GENTLEMEN,—The first words are naturally those of greetings. Here, in the Metropolis of Modern India, have met once more, men of culture and piety, from many parts of the land.

From Madras that played an honoured part in the Religious Revival of Mediæval India and is still the Home of Culture, of Religious and Social Reform—from the Punjab where Nanak, the first Apostle of Harmony, preached the Gospel of Pure Theism long ago—from Bombay the Beautiful and Maharashtra the Mighty—from the far of classic Soil of Sind—and from different parts of our dear *Banyadesha* are come thoughtful, earnest, devout souls in sympathy with the Theistic Ideal, to take their part in the activities and enthusiasms of the Theistic Conference.

The spectacle of such a representative gathering is certainly a source of comfort, shall I not add, of strength—to all who strive to-day to extend the cause of Rational Piety and Spiritual Religion. It sustains us in our spiritual strivings, and charges with energy the hope that the great Vision of a National Church for New India may be verified at no very distant date. Here in this hall are brought together men who love spiritual life more than the 'creeds' of religions—and faith and fellowship more than *forms* of faith Here is an illustration of what may be spoken of as a Religious Federation broad-based on inter-religious co-operation. For the deepening of spiritual life—for a frank and free communication of thoughts and convictions and religious experiences—for a re-wording of the vital truth of *spiritual sympathy* which bears all and beholds in all an image of God's Truth growing 'with the process of the suns'—for re-interpreting the thought that Modern India needs the sustaining force of Spiritual Theism—are met together all who will for four successive evenings take part in this Conference of Religion.

In sending forth the word of greeting and in setting forth the spirit and scope of this Conference, I am urged, as the Representative of the Reception Committee, to indicate in brief, the *Basis of Theism* no less than to give some expression to what I consider to be the National Significance of the Larger Faith in us.

The questions which will soon engage the attention of this Conference are connected with the spiritual and moral welfare of our countrymen. To my mind, there is no question fraught with such far-reaching consequences in the future as the one about the religious re-awakening of this country. Spirituality and asceticism are the natural endowments of our countrymen, but under the burden of material civilization which has come upon us, they stand in some danger of losing their hold. I am far from decrying the blessings which modern civilization has conferred and will confer on us; but it is meet that our moral progress should keep pace with it. True progress consists in the simultaneous development of all departments of human activity, and not in that of one at the expense of another. If the important department of religion be neglected, there will be an atrophy of a vital part in the race organism which will be a source of weakness in the long run. The glory and greatness of Ancient India was in her religion, and the glory and greatness of Modern India will also be in her religion. Let the memory of the past be an incentive to spiritual progress, and not a cloak to hide our present short-comings. The time may come when the West will seek inspiration from our religion and philosophy, just as we are now receiving inspiration from Western Science and Art. Recently India had the advantage and the privilege of hearing the sage of the West from the lips of Dr. C. C. Hall, the eloquent and sympathetic American divine. Let me quote a passage from his recently delivered lectures: "May the day never come when the East inebriated with the wine of modern culture and dazzled by the appliances of modern civilization shall move from her high seat of vision, forget her prophets of the invisible, barter her great inheritance in the unseen and bow down before the perishable idols of the present age, the unconsecrated gods of a passing hour". These are weighty words and it would be well worth the while of this as well as the future generations to bear them in mind.

At the present moment we see around us activity in all directions. Questions regarding political rights, industrial development, social reform, &c., are engaging universal and serious attention, but the religious problem remains where it was. It does not seem to receive amount of attention and thought that its importance demands. The reason for this indifference is not difficult to find. Things that meet the eyes, that are readily handled, and meet our immediate animal wants intrude themselves upon our attention in unending variety. The more we fix our attention upon them the stronger the spell they throw around us, while things unseen are apparently remote, and do not therefore readily lend themselves to our comprehension; they are unnoticed except by these thoughtful few who have an eye upon the present as well as the future. Then again in our commerce with the external world from the very date of our birth our notions and ideas have become so fixed and rigid that spiritual truths remain unperceived and unrealised.

But it does not follow that things which remain behind the veil are of less moment to us than the things of ordinary commerce. On the contrary, if the human soul is to retain its pristine nobility and vigour and if it is to fulfil its destiny, things spiritual must no less be its concern than things material. To realise this, to realise the transitory character of terrestrial existence, to realise that religion is the backbone of all true and unselfish life, that it is the motive power which is behind all moral actions either in individuals or in nations a contemplative mood is absolutely essential. It was on this account that "Yoga" and "Dhyan" were deservedly held in high esteem and were regarded as preliminary steps in religion in Ancient India. The value of contemplation is fully recognised by the philosophers of the West. Mr. Balfour, the ex-Premier of England, who in the midst of the most engrossing duties of a world wide-empire yet found time to attend to philosophy, writes in his book, "Foundations of Belief". "Yet after all it is in moments of reflection that the worth of creeds may best be tested; it is through moments of reflection that they come into living and effectual contact with our active life. It cannot therefore be a matter to us of small moment that as we learn to survey the material world with a wider vision, as we more clearly mea-

sure the true proportions which man and his performances bear to the ordered whole, our practical ideal gets relatively dwarfed and beggared till we may well feel inclined to ask whether so transitory and so unimportant an accident in the general scheme of things as the fortunes of the human race can any longer satisfy aspirations and emotions nourished beliefs in the Everlasting and the Divine It is to the absence of the contemplative mood in this age of the stress and strain that the daily declining interest in religion is due.

When I use the word religion I do not mean the nominal religion of convention which a son inherits from the father, nor the formal religion of Scribes and Pharisees which a man may put on as a coat or cloak on particular occasions but the living personal religion which is as much a part and parcel of himself as are his body and soul. It is this religion which leads him on to unselfish and noble deeds and gives him strength in the hour of trial or temptation. It is this religion which led the devoted band of Christian martyrs to face the most horrible tortures which human ingenuity could invent with a grace and resignation which while receiving assent challenges belief. The most outrageous persecution acted but as fuel to the fire. The power of kings and emperors failed to arrest this tide of living religion. Fire and sword were powerless against the bulwark of faith Upon this solid foundation of sacrifice and devotion the great edifice of Christian religion is built The rise of the Mahomedan religion affords a typical illustration of the power of religious faith. From an insignificant and unknown place in Arabia religious fervour spread like wild fire over the length and breadth of two continents. Our own country affords innumerable such instances From the hoary past of which we have any record up to the present day every generation has seen heroic bands of enthusiasts leaving hearth and home and all that man holds dear in their search after the unseen. "No more thorough mortification of flesh has ever been attempted than that achieved by the Indian ascetic anchorites," and nowhere perhaps has the Divine Presence been more vividly realised We find in all countries and in all ages there have been men who have exemplified in their lives the tremendous influence which religion exercises over human lives and affairs.

Undoubtedly there have been numbers of men in all ages and in all countries over whom religion has had very little influence. It is no more my purpose to deny this fact than to deny that there is evil in this world. It is true also that in the name of religion much human blood has been shed and many atrocities perpetrated; but religion has been unfairly charged with the sins of irreligion and the excesses of its votaries. And the large fact lives that in the history of the world and in the lives of individuals religion has played an all important part and that living religion wherever found is a force to be reckoned with. Even Mr. Mill, a critic so hostile to the claims of religion, is forced to admit the beneficent part it has played in the past. In his essay on "Utility of Religion," page 72, he says, "It is in short perfectly conceivable that religion may be morally useful without being intellectually sustainable, and it would be a proof of great prejudice, in any unbeliever to deny that there have been ages and that there are still both nations and individuals with regard to whom this is actually the case".

We sometimes hear persons say that the influence which religion is said to have exercised over human lives is really due to the great moral power which has all along been under its command and a "little reflection" will show that religion receives the credit of all this influence which really belongs to morality; in other words, these persons maintain that in this rationalistic age a rational ethical system and abstract moral ideals are quite enough for the guidance of human conduct and theistic belief is no longer necessary to prop them up. The *raison d'etre* of ethics is a much disputed point and the moral ideals of different philosophers vary as the poles asunder; but whatever be the basis of ethics, it is certain that without entering into hair-splitting discussions man may distinguish intuitively what is right from what is wrong He may feel also an impulse to do what is good and avoid what is bad. But if the basis of our moral impluse be only a shadowy moral ideal and nothing more, has that basis *sufficient stimulating power* to compel us to put forth our whole heart and strength for the satisfaction of that impulse of self-interest? I believe not. Is an *impersonal moral ideal* sufficient to reform the drunkard and the profligate? I believe not. It is when morality is

quickened by a living theistic belief that such miracles take place. This history of ages supplies innumerable authentic instances of sinners reclaimed and re-born in the Kingdom of God. Of such instances we have personal experience. The experience of universal humanity has shewn that moral power gains in strength in proportion to the intensity of religious belief. Professor William James, the greatest of living psychologists, in his refreshing and humorous style, writes thus in his book, "The Will to Believe": "The capacity of the strenuous mood lies so deep down among our national human possibilities that even if there were no metaphysical or traditional grounds for believing in a god, man would postulate one simply as a pretext for living hard and getting out of the game of existence its keenest possibilities of zest. Our attitude towards concrete evils is entirely different in a world where we believe there are none but finite demanders from what it is in one where we joyously face tragedy for an infinite demander's sake. Every sort of energy and endurance, of courage and capacity for handling life's evils, is set free in those who have religious faith. For this reason the strenuous type of character will, in the battle-field of human history, always outwear the easy-going type, and religion will drive irreligion to the wall. It would seem and this is my final conclusion, that the stable and systematic moral universe for which the ethical philosopher asks is fully possible only in a world where there is a divine thinker with all enveloping demands. If such a thinker existed his way of subordinating the demands to one another would be the finally valid causistic scale, his claims would be the most appealing, his ideal universe would be the most inclusive realizable whole. If he now exist then actualised in this thought already must be that eithical philosophy which we seek as the pattern which our own must evermore approach."

Buddhism is sometimes cited as an instance of a purely ethical religion without belief in a god holding sway over one-fifth of mankind for centuries together. To call Buddhism a purely ethical religion is, I submit, a misnomer. Belief in a hereafter and in the law of Karma or moral order in the universe are its fundamental creeds. A religion pledged to such a creed cannot be called a purely ethical religion. Scholars differ as to the exact significance of its doctrine of Nirvana or emancipation of the soul. What to a Western scholar may mean

annihilation, to the mystical oriental mind is, in very truth, a transcendental state of existence free from desires and pains—a state of being which passeth human understanding. It is true, philosophical Buddhism never laid special emphasis on the doctrine of God ; but may not this shortcoming on its part be the reason why it did not appeal to the soul of India and why in countries where it still exists the place of god has been taken by Buddha himself That Buddhism was pessimistic in its tendency there is no doubt ; but a religion which believes in a hereafter and in a living, though impersonal, moral order can by no means be stamped as atheistic The true significance of Buddhism yet remains to be unfolded and a profound and critical study of its vast and not fully explored literature may yet clear up many of its doubtful and obscure points.

Our present age has seen the birth of a purely ethical religion, *viz.*, the religion of humanity which, in its zeal for rational piety, has enthroned the abstract idea of humanity in the place of God. It is an outcome of the religious instinct asserting itself in persons whose belief in the Godhead had been undermined by a narrow rationalism. As a purely ethical religion, "its ideal lacks the note of infinitude and mystery". It is but a makeshift of the imagination which can never possess the charm which reality alone possesses ; nor can its bogus divinity arouse adoration and stir the springs of deep devotion. That its ideal is not acceptable to the human heart is proved by its lack of adherents To bolster up religion without lying its foundation on the central idea of God is very much like trying to keep a watch going without its hair-spring and is therefore destined to fail.

My object in taking up so much of your time in treating religion from a standpoint which may be called 'pragmatic' rather than 'utilitarian' is this—that in this age of science and rationalism in the hurry and bustle of modern life when people seem to have no time for contemplation when value of judgment is so easily understood and appreciated it is well to give prominence to the *value of religion as the motive power to all* noble deed, as the soul of morality and as the progressive power which has turned sinners into saints. But value or utility is not the *ground* upon which religion lays her claim. She rests her claims to our allegiance on her own inherent merit and not upon her acciden-

tal attribute of utility. Her foundations are too deeply laid to succumb to the assaults of unbelievers in this or any age. She will hold sway so long as humanity lasts.

The greatest privilege which we enjoy in this age is the freedom of thought. It is the greatest achievement of modern civilisation. The marvellous conquest of men over the secrets of nature, the marvellous inventions by which the forces of nature are enlisted in the service of mankind are some of the results of this freedom on the physical side. The greater regard for the suffering of living creatures, the greater efforts for their alleviation, the greater respect paid to the opinions and beliefs of others are some of its results on the moral side No longer are we required to submit to fetters forged by age or fixed by tradition. No longer is the faculty of reason a captive in the prison of dogma. But if the freedom we enjoy is great, our responsibility is greater In an age when authority had a greater hold upon the minds of people, the faculty of understanding was willingly surrendered to the commands of dogma. That was perhaps a necessity of the age. But things have changed and we are in danger of running to the other extreme and mistaking license for freedom. In this age reason is regarded as the supreme judge to decide what the soul should believe and what it should not. Reason is the "open sesame" of truth and there is no royal road to its high heaven.

But we must not be blind to its limitations. If reason is a precious faculty, the other faculties of the mind are not less so. We must bear in mind that intense concentration of the mind and perseverance are indispensably necessary for the discovery of scientific truth and that the greatest discoveries of modern science have been the results of intuition and insight A flash of intuition appears in the mind of genius and a truth is discovered which perhaps subsequent generations alone may verify. Induction, which is the great instrument of science, is but another name for rational faith ; without this rational faith in the uniformity of Nature, the whole structure of science would tumble down and human life itself become paralysed. It is then not the application of the intellect alone, but of all the faculties combined, which lead to the discovery of truth. If this is the case so far as physical science is concerned, what must it be as regards metaphysics, the science of sciences?

Dealing with the ultimate problems with a subtlety all its own, metaphysics does not seem to find much favour in the present age. But if the divine truth is to be known, if the masterwork of speculation built by the genius of man unto the unseen is to be understood, the study of metaphysics is essential. Truth, whether it be seen by Sankaracharya or Fichte or Hegel, is one and universal. The infinite cannot be accommodated to the finite mind of man; and the master minds of the world, who have explored the ocean of the Unseen, have left us a valuable asset in their speculations about the ultimate reality, however fragmentary and indefinite they may be.

If matter and force, the idols of physical science, mystify and confound the mind when metaphysically approached, what can it do to apprehend the Transcendental Absolute, the substratum whereon rest human souls? The human soul must rise above the turmoils of this earth into the calm and elevating atmosphere of contemplation with a pure and devout heart into the region of mystery surrounding human existence where perchance the mist of transitory phenomena might clear and allow it to catch a glimpse of the Divine Sun. If the soul is to have god-vision which Jesus or Chaitanya had, it must also have the faith of Jesus and the love of Chaitanya. If then we approach the Transcendental with our methods of experiment and physical observation and perhaps with a mind whose natural instincts are dried up by the heat of a narrow rationalism and find nothing, we do but prove the blindness of rationalistic understanding and not that the Light streaming through the Mystic Sense is delusion and darkness.

The mystical experience of prophets and saints of all lands and all ages is a storehouse of inspiration to the weary soul, and our debt of gratitude to the spiritual fathers of mankind is immense. Infinite are the ways of the Almighty of interpreting Himself to man if man has but the eye to see and the heart to feel; specially rich is the experience of those God-intoxicated souls, who gave their all to God and lived and had their being in him; for in proportion as a man ascends does God descend to meet him. When Nature arrayed in all her beauty presents herself to our view and our mind is filled with awe and rapture, when perhaps we have read a piece of soul-inspiring poetry and our mind is possessed with some sublime and majestic thought or per-

haps when we are in the midst of a congregation engaged in worship and our soul is lifted to higher heights of the spirit—it is then that the hand of God touches the spring of the human heart and the *jivatman* enters blessedness which surpasseth understanding.

It is, however, in the moment of sorrow—of that deep sorrow which is the lot of man—when heaven and earth seem an utter blank, when the heart is lacerated by the agonies of despair, when the mind finds no rest except in the most fervent prayer to the Most High, it is in that supreme critical yet blessed moment that man hears distinctly a voice whispering into his ears words of hope and love; then he receives support and strength to bear up with all the suffering that the world can inflict, and he begins to feel that sorrow is a blessing in disguise. He who has realised all this holds in his hands a key to the enigma of the world. It is no longer to him a fortuitous concourse of atoms but the divinely planned habitat of living beings; human beings are no longer the playthings of blind fatalistic forces but the 'offspring' of God after His own image.

Mysticism is a subjective experience of the mind when it is in touch with thing spiritual, and the experience is as vivid and real as the experience of the phenomenal world. It has been experienced by thousands in all lands and in all ages, and is not to be confounded with hypochondria or any other morbid mental phenomena. It is in our age receiving greater attention at the hands of scientific men. I believe I am voicing the sentiments of all when I say that our grateful thanks are due to Dr. C. C. Hall for his invaluable and illuminating exposition and defence of Mysticism. India is the land of Yoga and here Mysticism is fully understood and appreciated. Mysticism runs in our veins. The Upanishads and the Vedanta—are they not one wondrous outpouring of the Mystic Song? The Himalayas and the Indian ocean invite us to mystic communion as they once did the *Rishis* of our Ancient Past. Who can give the answer? Let the closing words of my address be the words of Him in whom the Mystic Sense was keen and strong—the words of one of the very greatest of Modern India—of the late lamented Rev. Protap Chunder Mozoomdar:

"How is it, that in spite of all the great Western books and the Hebrew books which we love and revere, we have an inalienable love and reverence for the great sacred books of

India ? It is not a foolish patriotism Rationality is, indeed, higher than nationality : and when the two conflict, nationality must go to the wall and rationality prevails. But here rationality and nationality strike up the same tune. We are perfectly reasonable, perfectly logical, when we extol the spiritual insight of our ancient sages which not only we shall develop and maintain but the whole world shall have to accept. The spiritual genius of India, the deep seeing of the Hindus, shall not die. It is the wisdom which the East once taught the West and will teach once again O, Sons of Rishis, followers of the revered ancestors, your souls rapt up in traditional bond have lost altogether the genius and inspiration which are your legitimate inheritance. Nature is steady, creation is the same living divine thing, but our ears are dull, our understandings dead. Possess once more the wisdom of your fathers read betweeen the verses of the tenth mandal of the Rig-veda and your Theism, call it by what name you will, will be your salvation."

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU ON PERSONAL ELEMENT IN SPIRITUAL LIFE.*

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Two days ago, when I was invited to address you, my first impulse was to refuse the responsible honour of addressing so cultured an audience without any time for due preparation, for I am not a public speaker at all, and the few occasions on which it has been necessary for me to appear in public, it was entirely from a sense of duty, and it was in the capacity of president which allowed me to indulge in the happy brevity of speech. But when it was put to me that I was to address the students of Calcutta at one of their weekly gatherings, I was constrained to consent in the words of the poet, "with all my heart but much against any will". I intend to address you not in any formal manner but to speak to you a few friendly words as coming to students from a student, one whose perennial lessons are learnt "from every bird that sings and from every wind that blows and to whom the meanest flower, that blows can give thoughts that lie too deep for tears". It is to you the young in this audience, that my remarks are chiefly addressed, for ever as it is your privilege to be the heirs of the glorious yesterdays of the world, it is even more your privilege and responsibility to be the stewards and trustees of tomorrow. You are the inheritors of unfulfilled greatness and we look to you to complete worthily the work that your fathers have begun. (Applause). The title of the subject is the "Personal Element in Spiritual Life," and by the word 'spiritual" I do not mean merely the religious or ethical side but even the highest ideal of manhood or womanhood. At this great moment, when there is abroad so much enthusiasm and when all the best energies and ambitions of the people of India are directed towards the re-establishing of the social and political ideals of the country, it is well for us to remember that no results are of any lasting value that are not obtained by the light of the spirit. (Uproar at the lower end of

* A lecture delivered by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

the hall due to excess of over-crowding.) I refuse to speak unless there is silence. I say that all the glories of Greece and all the grandeur that was of Rome have perished because of want of this light of the spirit. But the advancing hope for the salvation of India lies in this magnificent fact that our civilisation in the past was highly spiritual and the powers of the spirit, though they may be dimmed, can never die. (Applause). I want you to realise all of you who are here present that each of you is an indispensable spark in the rekindling of the manifold fires of National life. Many of you, I have no doubt, are acquainted with that great Persian poet and astronomer Omar Khyyam, whose beautiful poetry is equally the wonder and delight of East and West. Some there are who say he is somewhat of a *Sofi* and more that he was merely a dreamer of dreams, but whether he was a *Sofi* or a dreamer of dreams, his teachings and his singings of love among the roses and *bulbuls* of the Persian gardens have contributed to the literature of the world one immortal phrase which might stand for the very epigram of the scriptures. At night stand for the very essence of all the spiritual and secular doctrine and traditions handed down to man about the personal element in spiritual life. He says in his wonderful Rubyat :—

I sent my soul into the invisible,
Some letter of that after life to spell,
And by and by my soul returned to me
Answered, myself am heaven and hell.

Turn where you will, to the scriptures of the Hindus or the mandates of Zoroaster, the Koran of the Mahomedans, to the teachings of Christ or the teachings of Lord Buddha under the Bo tree, you will find this great point of unity among them, that in all these religions the greatest emphasis is laid on two essential points. First terrible individual responsibility of every human being for his own aims and for his own destiny ; and, secondly, the unique and incommunicable personal relationship with its Master Spirit. The life of the spirit is not a thing that we can attain, but it is interwoven like a golden thread through the very fabric of our existence. I want you to realise, my friends, that even so that there is a state of divinity which it is possible, nay, it is necessary, that we must develop up to its full fire of godhead. There is no one among you so weak or so small that he is not

necessary to the divine scheme of eternal life. There is no one among you so small, so frail, so insignificant that he cannot contribute to the divinity of the world. If he should fail let him fail. Does success or failure count for anything in the life of the spirit? No; it is endeavour that is the very soul of life. You all remember that when Napolean, the greatest hero of the 19th century, was taunted with his lack of ancestry, how superbly he held up his head and said "I am the ancestor." I hope that each of you has that self-knowledge and that self-reverence that enables you to say "I am the ancestor". For it is the bounden duty of every human being to contribute something individual and distinct to the sum total of the world's progres to justify his existence (hear, hear, and applause)—and is there any among you so small in spirit that he will not realise the dictum that Plato sent forth into the world.—Man knows thyself. Self-knowledge is only the first step in the ultimate destiny of man. You, sons of India, whom I speak to to-day, and you, daughters, whom I am also addressing, know that you are responsible for the call upon you for ennobled lives, not merely for the glory and prosperity of your country, but for the higher patriotism that says the world is my country, and all men are my brothers. You must ask for the larger vision that looks beyond the fleeting pomps and glories of to-day and knows that the destiny of the souls lies in immortality and eternity. Friends, it is not for me to speak you no better than I can tell you what an infinity of divinity is hidden within you. It is not for me to point the way to you, it is for you to pray in secret, and to reverence that beauty within your lives, those divine principles that inspire us. It is for you to be the prisms of the love of God.

MR. R. VENKATARATNAM NAIDU'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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At a Theistic Conference a president in flesh and blood is a concession to custom—at best, recognition of human limitation. In the present instance it is a mere formality. The generous but mistaken partiality of some brethren forces into this position—no doubt, a great honor, when deserved—a humble and obscure individual who, more than content with his Heaven-ordained lot in life, should have been so happy to be left alone like a weak, tender plant in its secluded cranny. But brotherly persuasion, exercised with such tact and sweetness, has drawn him out; and now he throws himself on fraternal indulgence and clemency. The loving kindness, shown in such richness in various ways, by the Brahmos of Bengal to their sisters and brethren of Madras, is entitled to hearty and grateful acknowledgment; and this may sympathetically be viewed as a humble tribute that deep gratitude pays to unstinted generosity. It may, possibly, also afford an opportunity to see whether the bread of truth that Bengal has cast, from time to time, on the waters of life in the south, has been vouchsafed any return. Apart, however, from these considerations, the sense of the unfitness of the person to the position is too oppressively heavy to sustain but for the trust that the counsels and the conduct of the Theistic Conference are in the charge of the Supreme One whose unerring guidance is ever accorded to all confiding souls. Whosoever may physically fill this seat—whether wisely and worthily as at Benares, or merely mechanically as now, after all, the Lord God is the true President—the Guiding Genius and Sustaining Strength—of this Conference. In a gathering convened and conducted by His grace every heart is an oracle of his voice, and every soul a shekinah of His spirit. At His holy call have come, with expectant hearts and pilgrim steps, scores of those that have long cherished and honored this city as the cradle of modern Indian Theism—a place ever dear and ever sacred as the home and the field of the life-work of the immortal saints and patriarchs of the Brahmo Samaj. When we remember that it is chiefly here that a rare succession of Heaven inspired souls has, so prayerfully and disinterestedly, toiled through three generations to realise and to reveal a God-vision

of surpassing glory, we feel that we stand on holy ground. If to this be added the significant fact that hither, to this hall, now converge from all parts of a vast country, with its divergent contents of race and language, creed and custom—from Sindh and Quetta to the Khasi Hills and Sylhet, from Lahore and Simla to Tinnevelly and Calicut,—thousands of hearts that one Faith fills, one Hope sustains and one Love binds together, surely the Theistic Church justifies itself as an organisation of national import. How the Theistic spirit has pervaded the whole nation in holier faith and purer worship, in loftier moral ideals and wider sympathies, in higher conceptions of the destinies of the race and richer expectations of the promise and possibilities of the nation, in ampler visions of the manifestation of God in man and in nature and in more catholic appreciation of Truth as the universal revelation of the All-wise, in prompter willingness to combine and co-operate on the broad basis of humanity and in keener endeavour to further an all-round progress, is patent to all thoughtful and impartial observers. How the Theistic Church has fostered quite a host of Heaven-illumined souls that, from the days of Rammohan Roy to those of Ranade and Anandamohn Bose, have rendered yeoman's service in the country's cause, in all directions, is now a matter of history. Such, in general terms, are the considerations that call forth our grateful thanks to the Great Giver of all good, that stamp the Theistic Church as a national movement of high aim and vast inherent power, and that place on us—individually and collectively—the sacred obligation of cheerfully and actively dedicating ourselves to be humble instruments of the Supreme Welder of the destinies of nations.

Again, how cheering, how inspiring in the hearts of us all this most beautiful spectacle is! Here we are, sisters and brothers, many of us meeting one another perhaps for the first time, and yet feeling quite at home, as in the bosom of one family, as nestled in the embrace of one Divine Mother! Not a joint push for increased political powers, not a common effort for social emancipation, not a united aspiration to clothe the motherland with the wealth of improved industries—intimately dear though these, one and all, be to us—none of these, is the immediate occasion for this gathering. It is the holy affinity of heart to heart, it is the God-inspired love of Soul for Soul, it is

the Heavenwoven tie of kindred faith and aspiration, that is the motive-power of this meeting. The fellowship of spirit, which is the bed-rock of social structure, the innermost resort of human intercourse, is typified in this Conference. Here we behold the great glory of the Divine Inspirer of all righteousness in the miracles that He has wrought in the hearts and souls of thousands who, attracted by the spell of His beauty and led by the light of His truth, realise, may be in different degrees of clearness, that verily this life, with its chastening disciplines and sustaining trusts, its tender griefs and holy endeavours, its quickening sympathies and uplifting aspirations, its sacred instincts and sublime visions, is an avenue to heaven—nay, is a present paradise. Here we observe that, beneath changes and fluctuations, amidst seeming clashes and conflicts, despite apparent differences and divisions, the Holy Spirit is unfolding itself in ever-increasing grandeur even through the steady spread of culture, the sustained march of progress, and the irresistible triumph of truth. Here, of a fact, we are confirmed, in a most reassuring manner, in the faith we have all along held so dear to us, that Divine Revelation —the influx of the Divine into the human mind—is a ceaseless current ; that the Eternal Indweller in all souls is now, as ever, a moving power and an illumining light ; and that the chapter of the doings of divine Grace in the hearts and homes of mankind closes not till the close of time. Now we see, not in dim, distant dream, but in close and clear perception—in verified reality—in direct vision, the immediate contact—nay, the inseparable though mysterious commingling, the inalienable and ever-deepening interfusion—of the Master and the servant, the Preceptor and the pupil, the Deity and the devotee, in all the concerns of life. Now we rejoice—aye, feel almost overawed—to observe how dear each soul is to its Great Source, even as the promising darling child to the discerning loving parent ; how the destiny of every one of us is wisely shaped and lovingly finished by the all-seeing providence and all-cherishing love of our God ; and how the active presence of the Eternal Witness and Mentor in every heart is evidenced, not only in the serenity of saintliness and the trust of martyrdom, but also, and equally well, in the sigh of sorrow for righteousness, in the search of ignorance for truth, in the longing of doubt for faith, and in the yearning

of langour for life. Such, in brief, are the inspiring lessons of this charming spectacle of the Theistic Conference. Render we our devout thanks to our God for this, His great good-tidings!

Next comes the question of the nature and the object of the Theistic Conference. What has this large number of fellow believers come, from all parts of India, to seek to do and to realise? What is the spirit that pervades and animates this Conference; what is the ideal it keeps in view; what is the end it tries to further? At the last Conference it was resolved that this is to be a deliberative, advisory and devotional meeting. It is to serve as a valuable opportunity for comparing and verifying our various experiences, for taking stock, as it were, of our strength and our weakness, of our hopes and our fears, of our joys and our sorrows, as Theists. Then, out of the manifold suggestions of these consultations, our leaders and workers will devise a practical plan for more faithful and sustained efforts to judgment and consolidate our strength. Lastly, in individual as well as in united worship, divine blessing will be invoked, divine guidance will be sought, and divine strength will be implored, for the accomplishment of what we all honestly believe to be the work of God to be done alike in us and around us. May the felt presence of Him from Whom all wisdom comes cheer and sustain this Conference throughout its proceedings!

Incomparably important is the object, the ultimate end, that the Theistic Church would prayerfully aspire to realise. Devoutly seeking to present to this ancient land, with its increasing complexities of existence—both public and private, an ideal of life at once contemplative and active, varied and harmonised, engaging and elevating; and earnestly endeavouring to indicate to this renascent people a source of inspiration and strength alike pure and perennial, the Church that we have been delegated to represent feels commissioned from on high to subserve, vigorously and joyfully, even the ever-progressing, though to our mortal eyes the far-off, event of the enthronement of the Supreme Spirit in the hearts of all. By evidence flowing in, in increasing volume, from all directions the conviction is borne in that the cause of pure—spiritual, liberal, hopeful, catholic—theism is the cause of the future; that the dispensation of the Brahmo Samaj is the gospel of the new age. It is becoming abundantly clear that in the general trend of modern thought and aspiration

towards a deep and enduring faith broad-based on the human intuitions and affections, a steady and ceaseless inspiration from the All-permeating into every expectant soul, an open and direct access for every reverent soul to the world-wide sanctuary of the ever-adorable One, a wide and sympathetic outlook on the human kind as knit in one divine kinship, a devout and grateful appreciation of truth and prophecy, with their several correlated expressions, as radically one, a strong and cheering hope of God's saving good falling at last to all and, a ready and loving dedication of human energies to the service of the world as a natural concomitant to the worship of God—that in this trend of modern thought and aspiration there is a most re-assuring testimony to the supreme worth of the ideals and the activities always characteristic of—and once wholly special to—the Monotheistic Church of India here symbolised in this conference. This self-same confirmation of our prevailing faith and hope by the voice and the conscience of a large and increasing section of cultured and courageous humanity would, however, seem, to my mind, to mark this out as a very fitting occasion for our earnestly and prayerfully endeavouring to realise in some fulness the central aim and the essential purpose of our church; and methinks the time that may kindly have been allotted to my remarks will advantageously be devoted to a statement, such as should lie in my humble power to make, of what I hold to be the paramount duty of us, Indian Theists.

Proceeding then to this somewhat responsible task, I may compress my idea of the aim and purpose of the Brahmo Samaj into one sentence: it is to realise in each one of us and to communicate to our sisters and brethern all around

THE SPIRIT OF RAJAH RAMMOHAN ROY.

I am aware of the disadvantage of an attempt to distil a whole thesis into a single phrase; but with the request that I may be judged by the spirit of what I submit, I venture to adopt this as my key-note To assimilate and to apply the spirit of the illustrious founder of the Brahmo Samaj, not only as regards this church but also in relation to the larger life of the whole nation —nay, if we can, of the entire race,—is, I believe, the divine call to us. I beg it may be marked that I do not plead that the Rajah's opinions shall, in every instance, be infallibly binding on his followers, that his methods shall be unquestioningly copied,

or even that his range shall for ever limit our energies. What I take leave to urge as the mission of the Brahmo Samaj is, to be vivified by his spirit—to imbibe his principles, to realise his hopes, to glow with his aspirations, to further his aims, to sustain his word—in a work, to cherish his memory by reproducing (may I say, re-incarnating?) him, no doubt with inevitable modifications, in the heart and the life of modern India. For, as Prof. Max Muller has observed, "the common root" of all the sections of the Theistic Church "is the work done, once for all, by Rammohun Roy"; and "in one form or another, under one name or another, I feel convinced that work will live". The spirit of the Rajah is of the very essence of the New Age, and is ordered to endure. Blessed are they that will strive to immortalise it!

Next, we shall try concretely to realise that spirit—to determine its distinguishing features, to trace out its workings, and to sum up its results. To my mind, Rammohun Roy is distinctly different from the other great men of India before his day. He is the father of a new race of Indian heroes. He heralds a new epoch in Indian History. His illustrious predecessors—mighty souls that have so richly dowered India with truth and goodness by their holy careers—were mostly sages, a few philanthropists, some patriots. But he was the first and (let me add) the greatest *nation-builder* that India has produced. His spirit ramified into diverse branches, covering the whole area of national life. In his life is illustrated the harmonious play of that cycle of forces which, by their conjoint operation, evolve and shape out a modern nation. In range of vision, in reach of sympathy, in versatility of powers, in variety of activities, in coordination of interests and in coalescence of ideals—in fine, as realising an all-round, all-receptive life in its manifold fullness, Rammohan Roy is a unique figure in the history of India, if not in the annals of the race. I may attempt to illustrate this by a reference to this, our National Week. Here is the national life, as it were, attracted to and centred in the metropolis. Here is a round of gatherings—Congress and Conferences—calculated by their deliberations and subsequent working to foster the growth of a sound, steady, complete nation. In the whole hierarchy of Indian Worthies, is there another name that evinces equal fitness with that of Rajah Rammohan Roy to be the ruling spirit of this great week, the presiding genius of all

these gatherings? Is not their very mutual appreciation amidst their manifold activities an emblem of his spirit? Verily, he is the Father of modern India; he is the *Rishi* of the modern age.

That we may appreciate this fact in its large import, I shall crave permission to recapitulate the salient points—of course, quite familiar to all here—of his eventful life. Mysterious, no doubt, are very often the ways of God; yet patent, to the believing soul, is His benevolent providence that directs the energies and shapes the destinies of mankind in its larger groupings of nations. History is, as it has been happily termed, the universal Bible—the true God's book—even as a revelation of this goodness and glory manifested in such timely and fitting grant of those great makers of epochs and ages whom a grateful world, with a touch of soul's poetry, names the "chosen ones" of Heaven. Such a one, beyond all doubt, was Rammohan Roy. Never was the country in more urgent need of a spirit that would recall it to the righteous ways of the Lord, conjure up her drooping spirits into hopeful service, and focus her scattered energies into a united strength. Man's necessity is God's opportunity. The spirit of of India, laid low in the dust by the sheer exhaustion of internal division and strife, groaned for a great unifier and reinvigorator; and Mercy deputed Rammohan.—Let us remember he was born in 1772. Let us review the condition of the country at that day. With knowledge confined to a microscopic few, with the spirit of the mediæval religious revival exhausted or transformed into domineering militarism, with ceremony usurping the place of religion and superstition elbowing out reason, with the sense of the One Supreme God dissipated into a myriad pantheon, with race set against race in mortal hostility and caste distinctions accentuated into haughtiness or servility, with natural feelings atrophied by mortifying practices and morality fossilised into unthinking custom, with kingdoms set up and blown down like bubbles and victories celebrated by devastation or forced conversion, with property arbitrary as anarchy and intercourse forbidden by insecurity, this ancient land was in the very throes of a huge trial and tribulation—limb torn from limp, hand raised against hand, heart turning away from heart. Into the midst of this dark, dreary scene was let down Rammohan, strong-willed and tender-hearted, keen-witted and noble-souled. He had passed through a befitting training and discipline; he had fraternised with different schools

of learning in their cloistered seclusion; he had plunged into the predominant theologies at their prime sources; he had communed with nature in her sublime solemnity; he had imbibed the sanctities of the world with the keen ardour of a truth-seeker and the reverent avidity of a sensitive soul; he had mixed with his kind in busy bustle; he had widened his vision with extensive travels; he had passed through the ordeal of domestic chastisement and social ostracism; he had mourned for the victims of dire famine; he had writhed in heart at the ghastly sight of the immolations of superstition at the fane of that "hood-winked queen" of the unthinking—flint hearted custom; but also he had caught the dawning glimpse of a coming light; he had heard the gentle whisper of an advancing hope; he had felt the first pulse of a returning strength; he had perceived the vision of an abiding harmony amidst the internecine strifes. Here was one that could truly say, "whatever concerns man is dear to me; my heart is the home of all the race". Such was the rich outfit with which he set out on his great-journey of the forerunner of a new-era: such was the arduous novitiate served out by this bringer of a new message to India—perchance, to the world.

Comprehensive past all comparison as was the Rajah's view of a full life, he was essentially a religious genius. He knew that human growth was endogenous—from the soul outwards. He was sure that out of the heart were all the issues of life. His faith in the saving, regenerating power of the Spirit was unbounded. To him a being not illumined by belief and trust in God, a progress not impelled by a religious force, was worse than inconceivable—it was degenerating, degrading. To the myriad ills of India the sovereign remedy was a living faith in a wise and living God—neither a cloistered faith that scorns and shuns society, nor a busy care-worn faith that assigns the leisure hour to a hurried worship, nor the prudent faith that imports a god to watch a truant world, nor yet a speculative faith that prefixes a creator to a law-governed universe. It was a direct vision of an indwelling Glory, a personal communion with an immanent Spirit, an implicit trust in all-wise Providence, a whole-hearted devotion to an all-embracing Purpose, a cheerful obedience to an all-governing Will, a conscious participation in an all-saving Grace, a rapturous delight in an all-entrancing Beauty.

It was a faith to which the universe was a consecrated temple, the soul a holy shrine, conscience a sacred oracle, duty a divine ordinance, truth the imperishable gospel, love the perfect rule, life a progressive pilgrimage, humanity an abounding grace. It was a faith that interpreted law as the method, force as the will, and matter as the localised potency, of God; it was a faith that esteemed the world as a reflection, the soul as a vision, and history as a panoramic presentation, of the nature and the purpose of the Deity. With Rammohan Roy the man, this faith—this sublime invigorative Theism—was a passion, a power and a joy that made of him a hero and a prophet. To Rammohan Roy the nation-builder, this vital, fertile faith—a faith lofty as the love of God and ample as the wants of man—furnished alike the enduring basis and the cementing strength, the ample range and the towering greatness of a united and vigorous nation. The deep perennial source of this quickening faith he found welling up, in increasing volume and purity, from the heart of humanity. Religion he held to be a natural, irresistible instinct in mankind; it came out with the irrepressible spontaneity of a craving, an appetite that knew no satisfaction till it realised itself in a felt contact with what was believed to be the supreme. This, the key-note of his religious message, he struck in what was perhaps his maiden work—Tuhfutul Muwahhidin—a most remarkable pamphlet, at once terse as 'wit,' direct as sincerity, penetrating as insight and comprehensive as genius, could make it. In it he gently limned out those grand truths of a vital and progressive Theism of which his whole life, as a man of letters and a man of action, presented so rich and inspiring an example; *viz.*, the eternal verity of the religious sense; the essential unity of divine truth; the inexorable uniformity of divine law; the inviolable right of spiritual freedom; the impartial universality of divine inspiration; the increasing glory of divine vision; the inevitable fluctuations and varieties of religious expression; the imperative duty and the incalculable worth of spiritual worship; the manifest obligation of tolerance and sympathy; the mutual fulfilment of faith and service in love. This message of a whole-souled faith in an all-perfect God and a whole-hearted love for an ever-expanding humanity, runs through his works with an intensity of conviction, a buoyance of hope, a wealth of application and a persistence of purpose that are undoubtedly

marvellous for his times and surroundings. Verily he is a most impressive instance as has been observed, of divine illumination even in the darkest of ages and amidst the dreariest of prospects.

This spirit of a deep and broad faith he proceeded to apply to, and realise in, the national life The work of Rammohun Roy, as of every *nation-builder* was fourfold: to reassess the national heritage, to replenish the national resources, to infuse a new quickening and harmonising spirit, and to use the awakened energies for the new national wants and demands.

1 The hope and assurance of a reviving nation springs largely from its "storied past". Therein lies the evidence of the national posssibilities; the guarantee of the national solvency and in a large measure the impetus to national endeavours. The inspiration of the ancestral example is the cheering outlook of the dutiful successor, the acquisition of the sturdy sire, the starting capital of the ambitious son; the glory of past national achievement, the load-star—the light on the path—of the advancing generations. India's wealth, her richest acquisition and her highest achievement, is the sublime consciousness, the vision, of the all-permeating and all-transfiguring, all-embracing and all-transcending Spirit. Limitations—nay, aberrations—there might be; but the distinguishing mark, the predominant note, the prime concern of blessed *Bharatavarsha* is God-consciousness. The central principle, the master passion, the 'driving power' of her accredited worthies is God-vision. To trace the lineaments and study the ways, to follow the footsteps and bow to the will, to imitate the purposes and reproduce the nature—in a word to realise and fulfil oneself as a projected emblem—of the divine spirit, is the one prevailing national ideal, surviving all vicissitudes and to have saved from oblivion, purified from accretions, and readjusted for modern needs this indwelling Theistic spirit of India, was the Rajah's great service to the nation. His translations of the Upanishads, his elucidation of the Vedanta, his exposition of the *gayatri*, his defence of Hindu Theism, his advocacy of spiritual worship, his passionate pleading for a devout life as incomparably superior to the most engrossing ceremonialism —all these were suggested and sustained by that patriotic and nation-building purpose of reinstating a living liberal faith amidst clogging symbolism and enervating superstition.

He redirected the national intellect to the teachings of the ancient national scriptures and reopened the national soul to the inspiration of the most honoured national seers. He reiterates with tireless insistance and pleads with glowing earnestness that the most authoritative prophecy of India proclaims the absolute unity, the profound incomprehensibility and the sole omnipotence of the Supreme Being; recognises Him alone as the object of worship and obedience and His worship alone as the way to beatitude; allows only to His worship in spirit and in truth the virtue of efficacy; and declares the inseparability of pure morality from true worship. His heart deplores that the nation lost itself in a maze of observances and stultified itself by bowing before uninspiring ideals; his soul grieves that the one holy inner shrine of the Eternal spirit was deserted for the host of outer fanes where no grace dwelt and no glory shone. He urges the imperative duty, as he claims the inalienable right, of every individual soul to approach and to adore in reverence and in praise, the Almighty Author of all He declares and assures that the salvation of India lay entirely in the consecration of the nation's heart and might to the worship and the service of that 'One only without a second' that the pick of the national conscience and the national scripture ever faithfully clung to.

It may be worthwhile to dwell a little on the happy spirit in which the genius of Rammohun Roy interpreted and used the national scripture. World-old, perhaps, is the conflict between the so-called national and the so-called rational instincts of man; yet in their harmony lies the wise conservation and the confident progress of the spirit of the nation. Intimate is the link of the present with the past, and rich the bequest of the boy-gone ages to succeeding times. Sacred, however, is the voice of conscience and eternal the lifetime of truth. Shall India barter away her birth-right of spiritual freedom for the ready pottage of antiquity, or shall she run the prodigal's risk of tearing away from home and dwelling among inhospitable aliens? But to Rammohun Roy's discerning spirit there appeared no such distressing necessity. To the keen gaze of his soul there lay bare, amidst the puzzling heap of national scripture a fund of eternal truth and inexpressible joy which sympathetically studied, judiciously adopted, intelligently imparted and reverently received, might form the pabulum—the staple food—for his and many a coming

generation of eager seekers after God. In this spirit (as Max Müller has thoughtfully pointed out), not of a prudent adherence to mere antiquity but of an honest search for and grateful appreciation of the seeds of imperishable truth, that he sought to lay down the Vedanta of the Upanishads, stripped of its strange and disguising coverings as the basis of the new national life. There he rejoiced to meet the Seers of ancient wisdom —types of Emerson's "teachers from within"—proclaiming (to adopt the happy language of the same sage) a God, not of tradition, not of rhetoric, not even of inferential conviction, but of direct sight—a vision and an ecstasy that circles the world with a halo of celestial glory and transports the soul with the raptures of Heaven. There he was grateful to find a revelation of God's truth that for loftiness of conception, depth of insight, serenity of contemplation, fervour of devotion, austerity of discipline, perfection of disinterestedness and intensity of beatitude would ever remain unsurpassed, if at all equalled, in the history of the world. Thus he founded his message on the Upanishads for their intrinsic worth, as "the one unsectarian basis and meeting place"—the suggestive source and the harmonising synthesis—of the various schools of Indian thought. Among the national scriptures he valued them for their divine authority of eternal truth; among the great "world-books" he welcomed them for their bracing, cheering national air. Thus does the soul retain an open inlet for fresh divine inspiration as well as a healthy susceptibility to the national mode or trend of thought and sentiment; thus are individual conscience and historic continuity harmonised. Free yet authoritative, true yet familiar, lasting yet homely, imperishable yet national, the Upanishads were to him the national "Swadeshi" type and mould for "Universal Religion." Thus did he regain a national scripture to the rational soul and furnished to the nation that hope and confidence from the past which is the indispensable precursor to national growth and expansion. Thus was he the first and greatest reviver of the 'unfalsified,' and 'damaged Vedanta in the nation as well as the harbinger of the Light of the East to a western horizon not yet quite clear of the primitive mists of a detached heaven-enthroned God and a fallen eden-banished man.

Rammohan Roy, the ardent restorer of the Upanishadic Vedanta, as the deepest insight of the Hindu (the Eastern) genius, was likewise the gifted interpreter of the richest expression of the Semetic (the Western) genius—the heart of Jesus. The India of the Rishis, fertile and blessed in the wealth of the soul, was, however, not—could not be—the India of Rammohun Roy. Alike external pressure and internal throb were all along modifying and recasting the national ideals and replenishing and redirecting the national energies. As a masterly exposition of this theme by that man of colossal talents and cosmopolitan sympathies—Mr. Ranade—has made it familiar, momentous change over the entire field of Indian life resulted from the compact of Hindu and Mahammadan civilisations, culminating in that immortal declaration of Gurunanak that he was neither a Hindu nor a Muhammadan, but the equal "soul's brother" of both in the worship of that '*Nirakar Akalpurush*' in whom "Ram and Raheem" passed into one. But Heaven had ordained India the spiritual *prayag* of the world—the sacred spot of the congruent confluence of the mighty world-currents of East and West—the joy and the strength that came of a lasting, vital harmony of intellect and will, knowledge and power. A vaster and more comprehensive synthesis than had hitherto been realised—had hitherto been, perhaps, possible—had to be attempted; a reverent garnering of "the wisdom of the East and the West," a holy communion of saint and prophet in truth and goodness. In this devout spirit of genuine, yet thoughtful enthusiasm, Rammohun Roy submitted his "Precepts of Jesus, the guide to peace and happiness" to the world, as a spiritual and ethical code calculated powerfully to conduce to the elevation of "men's ideas to high and liberal notions of God" and to "the maintenance of the peace and harmony of mankind at large." To bring home to the "business and bosom" of India the serene godliness, the self-sacrificing love, the ethical vigour and the winning grace of Jesus, and thus to enshrine the Heaven-appointed author of the Christian life and civilisation of the West in the heart of the nation, was the avowed object of this remarkable publication. The warm controversy it led to, was, perhaps, the indirect testimony to its worth and its necessity. Now that, with the lapse of nearly three generations, all the personal and occasional element in that tough fight for truth has ceased to disturb the vision, the work may

justly be valued as the prophetic forecast of that great reconciliation—that organic federation—of East and West, through which every faithful and progressive nation will realise the fulness of its potency in a universal humanity. The future of India is rich with a promise almost baffling present estimation, even because it appears to be that eternal capital of the Spirit-empire, whither pilgrim souls from all quarters, with their heart-offerings of ideals, aspirations, endeavours and achievements, are drawn to the shrine of immortal Love, and whence will issue forth a Light radiant as the glory of the Lord and a Peace passing all more human understanding. That this ancient land, thus high honoured of Heaven, may fulfil this lofty destiny, depends undoubtedly on her readiness to imbibe this catholic—liberal and reverent—spirit of Rammohun Roy—a spirit inspired by the faith and active in the hope that it is with the sublime soul-contributions and the loving heart—tributes of all worthy peoples that God will at last make "the pile complete" This spirit, now fairly familiar, at any rate in theory, it was the unique distinction of Rammohun Roy to have inaugurated; and here is one further proof that he is the builder of modern Indian nation, the father of new India.

That this gradual commingling of the best in the East and in the West for the ultimate perfection of both—aye, of the whole humanity, is even Heaven's own method, is, it is cheerful to note, being realised in an increasing degree on all hands. Without subscribing to the sharp distinction drawn between Indian and Christian Theism as respectively enunciating the Being and the Character of God—for, to my mind, theism (Indian or Christian) to be a religion should be equally related, with necessary limitations, to both aspects of the question—we may all rejoice to note this as the one root-idea beneath Dr. Hall's inspiring lectures. Equally evident is this conception of the correlation of the Veda and the Bible in Dr. Deussen's renowned work on "The Philosophy of the Upanishads". The East and the West, are according to him, supplementary as the Intelligence and the Will. The *Upanishads* seek to clear the vision of truth from the mists of ignorance and illusion; the Bible would nerve the volition with the inspiration of love. Professor Upton puts the same truth in another form (in his *Hibbert Lectures*) that the Aryan religious belief seeks to realise God as

the self-manifesting substance of all objective phenomena and the inner, universal unity of all Reason; while the Semetic faith is noteworthy for emphatically recognising the infinite, absolute authority of God as the sanction for the sense of Duty asserting itself in every individual soul. To all candid minds, the position is now unassailable that for an intense, glowing God-consciousness and a sublime "Ethical statement" the Vedantic philosophy is *par excellence*. It should be equally beyond all doubt that for an awe-inspiring sense of God as the author of conscience—for "lighting up" morality with a cheering emotion and bracing up the will into a "cross-hearing" power—Christianity is "beyond compare". According to the *Vedanta* the story of Life is the sublime Epic of Wisdom of which the Author is the Hero, too; according to the *Bible* the course of Life is the inspiring Drama of Righteousness of which the Author is the Protogonist, too. The *Vedanta* is the cradle of the sage and the seer; the Bible is the nursery of the prophet and the martyr.

Nor need this "larger hope" of a brighter and broader day into which East and West shall at last pour their converging lights, be dimmed by doubts of its denationalising tendency or its incompatibility with the manifest variety of human growth. To lower uplifting ideals, to impair inner vitality, to weaken a chaste "passion for the past," is to denationalize; but to swell the stream of life with neighbouring currents, to drain out its accumulated impurities, and to level down its hindering barriers of prejudice, is truly to renationalise. Nations are shifting survey-marks for a division of labour, not rigid ring-fences of alienated hearts or senseless sheaths of hide-bound souls. They are as the shielding shell that breaks and falls when the life it has nurtured learns to move and fly. With increasing wisdom, the vision takes in a wider horizon; the heart expands with broader sympathies; the soul reveals vaster affinities; the petty rivalries of to-day are merged in the larger fraternities of to-morrow; and we learn, with zeno, to count men, "not as Athenians and Persians, but as joint tenants of a common field to be tilled for the advantage of all and each." The course of human evolution lies between undifferentiated unity and all-embracing union. To emerge from shapeless agglomeration, to clash in a truceless struggle for existence, to be echeloned into individual

development, to compete for common prizes, to rally for lucrative commerce, to co-operate in combined philanthropy, to converge in kindred ideals, to commune in conjoint worship, and thus to find each man's good in all men's brotherhood: so seems to run the gamut of growth—of differentiation, expansion, consolidation and harmony—from disintegration to reintegration. The pilgrimage of humanity is out of the unrealized one into the realized one; even as its source and substance is the essentially undivided, though phenomenally apportioned, One. Has not he, the oracle of the Over-soul, taught us that "one blood rolls uninterruptedly an endless circulation through all men, as the water of the globe in all one sea, and, truly seen, its tide is one"? This was an intuitive perception of Rammohun Roy, who was not only (to use Professor Sir M. Williams's language) "the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative religion that the world has produced," but also (as Professor Max Muller put it) the first to complete a connected life-current between the East and the West—the inspired engineer in the world of faith that cut the channel of communication, the spiritual Suez, between sea and sea land-locked in the rigid sectarianism of exclusive revelation, and set their separate surges of national life into one mighty world-current of universal humanity.

3. This quickening and harmonizing spirit—this passion for spiritual faith and worship and this trust in the organic unity of truth and humanity—Rammohun Roy sought to embody in the Brahmo Samaj, the Indian monotheistic church. It would be beside my present purpose to discuss the question as to how far our Samaj has realised the original idea of its gifted founder. That it is yet far, very far-from the goal, goes without saying; but that it has never wholly lost sight of, and still less consciously given up, that ideal is, I believe, equally plain. Quite imperfect and incorrect, though very common, is the notion that the Brahmo Samaj is wholly a crusade against idolatry and a protest against caste. All reorganisation—all national upheaval—has an inevitable negative side, even as all cultivation involves an amount of weeding and pruning. But the Theistic faith is a positive constructive agency, advocating and "making for" spiritual worship—individual and congregational—and spiritual freedom through spiritual unity. As the immortal Trust-

Deed—itself a production of a rare religious genius—defined its object, the Brahmo Samaj was to be a congregation, a spiritual fraternity, of all, without any artificial distinction, for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Author and Preserver of the Universe, limited by no sectarian conception, dimmed by no mask of image or effigy, diverted by no oblation or offering, tainted by no life-destroying sacrifices, tarnished by no sectarian rancour, but fragrant with a sober, orderly, religious and devout spirit and fruitful in promoting the contemplation of God, the union of man, and the great virtues of morality and piety, charity and benevolence. Is it too much to say that, bearing any name and adopting any expression, this in spirit and essence is bound to be the only saving faith and strengthening grace of India that-is-to-be?

The predominant element in this new spirit that Rammohun Roy would infuse into his race, is the spiritual worship of the One Supreme God. Why this land, with a wide-spread, highly-refined monotheistic ideal, did not adopt an unadulterated monolatrous worship, it is not, perhaps, easy to determine. It may be, as Dr. Deussen suggests, that this sublime idealism was more an intuition—a flash of genius—without the "substruction" of a detailed conception that could vivify, as it would realise itself in, the every-day practice of religion. Or it may be, as Mr. Ameer Ali urges, that this theoretical idealism was realised by the nation, as a whole, only as material pantheism which can easily fraternise with idolatry and is saved from a vulgar fetishism only by its postulate of a unifying whole running through and gathering up all. To whatever cause this strange—almost singular—state be due, Rammohun Roy laid all the emphasis of his teaching and persuasion on the supreme virtue and inexhaustible efficacy of the spiritual worship of the Eternal Author and Saviour of all, as a regenerating, reintegrating power; and only to the extent to which the Brahmo Samaj loyally adheres to and works out this central idea of its founder, will it reproduce his spirit and fulfil his mission. On this score, may there never be a whisper of doubt, a moment of hesitation! May it be the one sacred debt that those who call him master will ever feel they owe to his revered memory to invite every child of India, in unfailing faith and by inspiring example, to participate in this

priceless blessing—this supreme bliss—of worshipping and adoring our Maker and Master, Mentor and guide, Parent and Saviour, in the direct, unveiled communion of Spirit and in the unflinching service of Truth!

His inborn synthetic temper is inherited by his followers even in this holy office of adoration. The worship of the Brahmo Samaj is a puzzle to those outside it—the thoughtful shake their heads over it, the light-hearted jeer at it. But this "divine service" is the joint gift of the East and the West—of invocation inducing adoration, of meditation mellowed into communion, of praise preluding prayer, of confession consecrated as self-surrender.—As for conjoint, congregational worship, beyond the preliminary stage of bhajan—of song and dance—it is new again to the spirit of ancient India. Yet, what is congregational worship but the profoundest expression of our common humanity in a spiritual fraternity? In conjoint worship man approaches, appreciates and embraces man as a god-illumined soul. Therein soul sits with soul in a sacred ring, soul moves with soul in a holy circle, around the One in whose Light they dwell, by whose Love they live. Therein soul hails and rejoices in soul for the sake of, as dear unto, Him, the Spouse Divine of all human souls. Congregational worship is the *Brindavan* of souls; and in hearty congregational worship lies the *ultimate* solution of all human problems. This, as Monier Williams observes, is "not the least of the benefits effected by Rammohun Roy."

The other prominent element of the new spirit that Rammohun would pour into the ancient heart of Aryavarta is the spiritual Unity, as realised through the spiritual freedom and spiritual equality, of mankind. To him the presence of rich, saving truth in every great dispensation was an axiom: the universality of revelation, a verified historical fact; the direct approach of every soul to its Deity an implication, a corollary, of spiritual worship; and the ultimate salvation of all a guarantee of God's unmeasurable love and invincible Righteousness. How invigorating, liberalising, harmonising and uplifing this new spirit is, may be realised through a just and fair estimation of the work and the examples of those that vivified by the inspiration of his life, have reproduced through themselves the part which he played in the build-

Such, then, realized in my humble soul, expressed in my scanty language, was the spirit of Rajah Rammohun Roy —a comprehensive spirit of faith and freedom, of reverence and investigation, of simplicity and penetrativeness, of devotion and service, of enthusiasm and endurance. Into his soul poured in light and strength from all points of heaven; out of his heart went forth love and sympathy to all quarters of life. To his country he was the bridge between "her unmeasured past and her incalculable future." To the world at large he is the first arch—the earliest colossus—that spanned the East and the West. He was the morning star, the matin music, of the New Age, in which the many camp-lights will fade in the glory of a peaceful day, and the voices of various hosts will join in a universal hallelujah. The descendant of the Rishis, the disciple of Jesus, the ardent worshipper of the "One only without a second", the passionate devotee of freedom, the sorrowing friend of the bereaved, the dauntless champion of the oppressed, the merry companion of childhood, the sage councillor of statesmen, he was even the prototype of the coming race, where man's soul shall be a mirrored miniature of the world. Drawing his spiritual nurture from the great world-repositories of faith and hope, and realising in himself the abiding affinities of all revelations of God, his soul was one of the springs—the far-off sources—of that international spiritual federation, that distant divine event of universal humanity, to which the whole creation moves. If, according to Max Müller, the greatest discovery of even a century renowned for its revolutionising discoveries, is that the original god-consciousness of Hindu, Greek, Roman and Teuton was radically one, Rammohun Roy was an accredited pioneer of that sovereign discovery. Aye, he was likewise the herald that proclaimed that, philology apart, "Jove and Jehovah" are counterparts, supplementing and fulfilling each other —the God of Consciousness and Conscience—of Reason and Righteousness—being ultimately One. The Dream of Akbar was the Vision of Rammohun Roy. It was this epoch-making genius that sketched the plan and laid the foundation of that world-wide Temple that would be—

> "Neither Pagod Mosque, nor Church,
> But loftier, simpler, always open-doored
> To every breath from heaven, and Truth and Peace
> And Love and Justice came and dwelt therein."

APPENDIX—A.

THE MAHOMEDAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE SHARF-UD-DIN'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.*

The President delivered his speech in the vernacular amidst frequent applause. He said he had little new to say. Conference topics were well worn and the action of the Conference recognised every part of India. He, however, exhorted his audience, as Moslems, to prove worthy of their glorious past and to strive to reach forward to the goal which lay before them. They had no reason for despondency or despair and possessed the full capacity to advance. The proper use of the faculties innate in them would bear the desired fruit. For a time it seemed as if the community had slumbered and ceased to be true to itself, but now signs of life and activity were visible on all sides, which encouraged them to persevere.

But they must wake up and work. Other communities were far in advance in the race of material progress. At the same time there were some changes that must be avoided during the course of this struggle to regain lost ground. Mahomedans must not fall into the habit of imitation or into error. The speaker explained that true progress was based upon proper education. For this object Aligarh College had been founded. Referring to that institution he strongly advocated raising it to the status of a University. This had been the dream of Sir Syed's life. Now Government, seeing the efforts of the community to advance, and recognising the true loyalty of Moslems, would sympathise with and assist them.

In the course of his speech the President also referred to the All-India Mahomedan nobles' deputation in October to H. E. the Viceroy. The leaders of the community, he said, seeing that Government had come to recognise the importance

*. The address was delivered in Urdu.

of the Mahomedan factor in the Indian question and to recognise the loyalty of the race and the fact that its interests had suffered much in the past, knew that the time had come to place their case directly before the Supreme Government. Here, paying a tribute to the work of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk in this connection, he remarked upon the surprising and significant unanimity of thought and action that the deputation had evinced and the exceedingly short period of time in which the representatives had come together and decided upon the course of the action to be followed. The labours of this deputation were already bearing fruit. Its importance had been fully recognised by the Press not only of India but of Europe. For the unprecedented success that had attended its work the thanks of the community were due to the King and to the Viceroy. These thanks, he said, should be shown not by words alone but by actions. While the true Ruler was he who had the good of his subjects ever in mind, the true subject was he who placed his entire faith in the ruler.

He then announced that 24 scholarships had been given by the College, one for each division of the new Province. It was also stated that the Normal School was to be established at Aligarh with the object of training governesses for zenanas. A resolution was also passed to the effect that strict enquiry into all religious endowments wakaf was necessary, that a detailed list of these wakaf in all India should be compiled, and the mutavalais called upon to furnish an account of their stewardship. This was carried by acclamation, as also was a resolution that Urdu, being the Mahomedan language, should be taught in the madrassas, instruction being begun in the mother tongue of the children and Urdu gradually replacing it as the boys grew up, till the teaching was Urdu and English.

APPENDIX—B.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CONGRESS SPEECHES.

THE HON. MR. GOKHALE.

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In acknowledging the vote of thanks passed by the Congress, Mr. Gokhale said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a late hour, but I must crave your indulgence for a few minutes. I beg in the first place to tender to you my humble and most sincere thanks for the Resolution you have just adopted. The Resolution is couched in terms altogether too generous; but, leaving that aside, I may say that it gives me the same feeling of pride and pleasure as when a servant learns that he has given satisfaction to his master. (Applause.) At the last Congress you imposed this duty on me of proceeding to England. I do not mind confessing to you that I accepted that responsibility with considerable misgiving. Last year Lala Lajpat Roy and myself proceeded to England on the Congress Mission, but that work was one with which I was somewhat familiar. It was that of political agitation, of going about the country and addressing public meetings; but this time I was asked by you to go there to press upon the attention of the authorities the more pressing question of Indian reform. The authorities in England in connection with India are, first of all, the Secretary of State and, next, the British Parliament. It was a difficult matter in some respects, but the difficulty was removed by the great change which took place in the position of the two parties in England during the *interim* which had long been committed to imperialism and which suddenly found herself in the face of a protest on the democracy of England. This democracy rose in wrath, and hurled forth the Government which had been in power. A new Government came into power with a House of Commons strongly democratic and a friend of freedom all over the

world. The position had greatly improved, and that greatly facilitated the work which you asked me to undertake. The Secretary of State in Council was another difficulty. The Council of the Secretary of State is composed, as you all know, of men whose only idea of the Government of India is to let it continue in the hands of the present officials. We had a Secretary of State who approached the question with an open mind, and gave me several opportunities to place before him any important question relating to the Congress; but he made it a condition that these interviews should be treated as confidential. I cannot, therefore, say anything that has passed between us; but I may say in general that I was given every opportunity to put our Congress case before him.

What the results of those meetings will be time alone will show; but I hope that in the course of the next few years we shall see considerable drastic changes in several directions. (Applause.) I will say no more about the Secretary of State, but will say one word about the House of Commons. The present House of Commons must not be confounded with the previous House of Commons. It has altogether been a different kind of House. Everybody who goes to the House feels and says so. They say not for 60 or 70 years has the House of Commons assembled in England like this. There was fervour for reform, for freedom, for national aspirations such as have never been witnessed in England. Our President told you that there was a revival at the present moment of the old spirit of liberty—revival of the old spirit of liberty associated with such honoured names as Cobden and Bright. There is not the least doubt that more than half of the House of Commons were anxious to do something for India, but they do not know much about India, and have to depend on the reports which are conflicting, because the official version is one way and the popular version is another way; but their antecedents, traditions, and sympathies are all ranged on our side, and this is a factor which will be useful in counteracting the influence of bureau-

cratic officers in India. This is the position so far as the work done there is concerned. I will say one word more. I always held—and I think every Congressman had always held—that most of the work is to be done by ourselves. I have often said that nine-tenths of our work lies in our hands. Twenty years ago the founder of this Congress, Mr. Hume, addressed certain verses to the Congressmen :—

> Sons of Ind, why sit ye idle,
> Wait ye for some Deva's aid ?
> Buckle to, be up and doing,
> Nations by themselves are made.

This Mr. Hume said some twenty years ago, and every Congressman who is worth anything has always felt and realised this. There are certain difficulties which can only be overcome with the assistance of the British democracy. If and when we make further progress it may be possible for us to rely upon ourselves, but at the present moment we cannot do so.

The officials are more powerful, and it is necessary that we should seek co-operation and support of the British democracy in England to whom the officials in this country have to pay heed. That is the reason why I believe in English agitation, and the work being done in England to-day should not be discontinued. I beg you to remember if anything is done to interrupt this work it would be disastrous. If you wish to bring things home forcibly to the people in England, we must go on building up public opinion there. It seems that, while the existing arrangement lasts, we must seek the assistance of the British Democracy and not that of the retired Anglo-Indians, but the British Democracy, who are the friends of freedom. We must seek their assistance to keep in check officials out here.

NAWAB KHAJA ATIKULA OF DACCA.

NAWAB KHAJA ATIKULA of Dacca, in proposing the Resolution, on the Partition question said :—" I feel very much honored by being entrusted with this important Resolution. I may tell you at once that it is not correct that the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal as a body are in favour of the partition of Bengal. The real fact is that it is only a few leading Mussalmans who for their own purposes supported the measure. To support partition is to lay an axe at our feet; for partition means an enormous cost and the people are not able to bear this heavy burden. At least, to save ourselves from this cost, the Hindus and Mnssalmans should continue to enter an united protest against the measure. I very much regret that the views of the members of the Khaja family of Dacca, to which I have the honor to belong, have been very much misrepresented. It is true that Nawab Salimulla has given his support t the partition, but that does not prove that the Khaja fami is with him in this respect. As a matter of fact that is his own individual view, and that is not the view of the bulk of the Khaja family. The view of the latter is that partition is a great wrong done both to Hindus and Mussalmans and it should be revoked. Gentlemen, I need not enter into the details of this question, which has already been discussed threadbare. I only hope that the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Morley will see his way to reverse it. Before I sit down I wish to say a few words with regard to the Hindu-Mussalman question. In this matter I am entirely at one with Sir Syed Muhammad, whose noble utterances have been quoted by our venerable President. There is no doubt Mussalmans and Hindus are the two eyes of India. It is hardly necessary to say that if you injure the one, you in-

jure the other. As a late distinguished Mussalman said: "We should try to be one in heart and soul and act in unison; if united we can support each other; if not, the effect of the one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both". Gentlemen, that has ever been the policy of the Khaja family of Dacca. My revered grandfather and my revered father preached the same doctrine and I am only following them when I say the interests of both Hindus and Mussalmans are blended together and they should always act in concert.

THE HON. NAWAB SYED MUHAMMAD.

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad seconded the motion proposing Mr. Dabadhai Naoroji to the chair in a happy little speech. He said:—Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates, It is with great pleasure that I rise to second the motion before you. At the same time it strikes me that no formality is more unnecessary or so self-evident than the proposition you are called upon to approve Does this proposal that Dadabhai Naoroji should be elected to fill the chair in this assembly really require to be proposed and seconded? Has it not been already carried by the repeated acclamations whose thunder has reverberated from one end of the land to the other and is now being echoed in this hall of the whole nation? It seems to me almost unnecessary to commend the name of the greatest living Indian to your acceptance. To half a century of ceaseless endeavours and self-sacrifice is now added the supreme sacrifice, at his age, of undertaking a long journey to preside over your deliberations, and it is for you, representatives of all India, to show how you appreciate your trusted and revered leader whose whole life is a source of living light and guidance to all who would serve our country and fill us with refreshing hope that the progress of India towards her proper place in the family of the world's nations would be little retarded by differences in religion or race (cheers).

THE HON. MOHAMED YUSUF.

The resolution on the qestion of *Wakfs* was entrusted to KHAN BAHADUR MOULVIE MOHAMED YUSUF OF BEHAR, who came upon the platform amidst prolonged and deafening cheers and shouts of *Bande Matxram* and cries of *Allaho Akbar* and *Marhaba*. He said:—Our President has brought about the consummation of a union between the Hindus and the Mohamedans. As regards the proposition entrusted to me I beg to say that I am much obliged, and all Mohamedans are much obliged to the Congress for having introduced questions relating to the Mohamedan community into its programme. First of all the question relating to Haj pilgrims originated from the Congress, and it has met with success at the hands of Lord Minto. I hope this question relating to Wakfs, which is of the very greatest importance to the Mohamedan community, which has been taken up by the Congress will meet with similar success. I do not think that any objection could be taken to this resolution. It is the opinion of a large majority of lawyers and of statesmen that the Privy Council has made a mistake in this matter. I may tell you, without going into technicalities, that the question of Wakfs is inseparably connected with the religion of the Mohamedans, and therefore the Privy Council in interfering with the law of Wakfs has to a certain extent, although unintentionally, interfered with the religious view and convictions of Mohamedans.

MR. JINNAH, BAR-AT-LAW.

Mr. JINNAH of Bombay seconded the resolution and referred to the Mohamedan gratification at the common platform afforded by the Congress. "We treat not the Privy Council's decision lightly, but learned Mohamedans, like Messrs. Ameer Ali and Buddrudin Tyabjee, have said that their law has not been rightly interpreted.

MR. MOULVIE ABUL KASIM.

MR. MOULVIE ABUL KASIM in support of the Wakf resolution said:—The resolution which has been put before you by my distinguished co religionist who is an acquisition to the Congress camp, is one which affects only the members of my community and its adoption by the Subjects Committee is a significant fact; and there is, I belive, a pious superstition about it. Last year, while some of my co-religionists were exhausting their resources, their energies, and I believe, their abilities, in impressing upon these people that untold imaginary blessings would follow the partition, we Congressmen found a real grievance of the Mohamedans; and meeting at Benares, the holy city of the Hindus, we asked that the difficulties of the pious Mussalmans visiting the holy shrines of the Hedzaj be removed. And we are glad that the resolution has met with success. We hope a similar fate awaits this resolution. If those of my co-religionists, who will meet at Dacca on the 30th fall in with the views of their host, I am afraid they will oppose the resolution, firstly, because it is against a Government measure to which they will pledge to give their support, and secondly, because it is a resolution of the Congress which they will be pledged to oppose. The adoption of the resolution proves that we the Mohamedans can have special grievances removed through the Congress and there is no need for a separate political association or for a Confederacy, open or secret. The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA'S SPEECH.

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The Partition Resolution.

In seconding the Resolution on the Partition of Bengal at the last session of the Congress, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea said :—

It is our misfortune—that it should be necessary from year to year to appeal to your indulgence to accord to this question a leading place in your deliberations. I know not how long this necessity will last. But this I do know that so long as the partition is not withdrawn or modified, the Bengalee-speaking community will not be satisfied and that no matter what concessions may be granted in other directions, they will fail to conciliate the people or allay the prevailing excitement. Every now and then we hear of a lull in the agitation, of a subsidence of the feeling which has prompted it. The other day there appeared a letter in the *Times* from a correspondent in India in which the latter was pleased to observe that the agitation was on the wane. We are in the unfortunate position of a patient suffering from a painful disease which has its periods of intermission, but the patient knows no rest or peace so long as the root-cause of the mischief lies ingrained in his constitution. Time blunts the edge of all sorrow. Time is the great healer. But time with his modifying hands has not soothed our wounds. There may be a temporary cessation of the feeling; but the grief is there, firmly rooted in the depths of our hearts. There is no feeling deeper in the heart of the Bengalee than that which is associated with the home and gathers round the domestic circle. The Bengalee, be he a Hindu or a Mohamedan, feels the strongest repugnance to the breaking up of his home. He resents it with a fanaticism which is religious in its intensity. So does he view with bitter pain and indignation the separation from himself of his kith and kin by the formation of a separate Legislature and a separate Government. The partition is in the nature of an outrage upon the deepest domestic associations. Call it a mere sentiment—an irrational sentiment if you like—but there it is,—none can ignore it, moving the hearts of our people with a power and intensity to which there is no parallel in the annals of our popular upheavals. No, is it merely a ques-

tion of sentiment. The issues are much deeper. They affect the whole of India. They concern what with us is the problem of problems. If it were merely a question of territorial redistribution, all this excitement would be inexplicable. The matter is much more serious than that. The question is whether the public opinion of a great Province, expressed with singular unanimity and unequalled emphasis, is to be flouted and treated with open and undisguised contempt, and that in a matter affecting the vital well-being of the Province. Thus in another form and under a different name you have the old-old question of the assertion of popular opinion and the vindication of the principle of self-government. It is in this form and in this sense that the question appeals with convincing force to the hearts and consciences of the whole of India.

MR. MORLEY AND PARTITION.

Last year, about this time, when we discussed this question, the Liberal Government had come into power with Mr. Morley as Secretary of State for India. We had never known Mr. Morley in that capacity. We knew him more as an author than as a statesman. We knew him better as the biographer of Cobden and Burke, as the author of Compromise, than as the Radical politician or the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Many of us had, indeed, sat at his feet in the sense that we had imbibed from his writings those lessons of political wisdom, dominated by the larger considerations of expediency, which have their roots in the eternal moralities of things. We, therefore, welcomed our political *Guru* as the controller of the destinies of our motherland. We welcomed him to the seat of the great Akbar in the firm confidence that he would fill it with more than the wisdom and with scarcely less than the beneficence of the greatest of the Mogul Emperors. Perhaps our expectations were pitched a little too high. If that be so, Mr. Morley himself is responsible for it. For, who can read his writings or rise from their perusal without coming to the conclusion that here was a master-figure in the world of thought and action and that his caution was but another name for that temper of mind which gathers in the forces of action, preliminary to vigorous and determined effort. We realized the difficulties of his situation and we were prepared to make large allowances for that undiluted bureaucratic atmosphere which he breathed

every moment of his life and in which he might be said to live and move and have his being. For of all the bureaucracies which govern or misgovern countries, the stiffest, the most reactionary, the slowest to move, the one above all others gifted with the fatal gift of a superabundance of confidence in its own infallibility, is the bureaucracy installed at the India Office. But people expected that a man of Mr. Morley's power with his great influence over the House and the country would rise superior to his environments, assert his personality and vindicate those lofty principles of political wisdom and justice with which his honoured name is imperishably associated. Sir, we have been asked to wait and that by no other than Sir William Wedderburn, than whom there is not a stauncher or a more self-sacrificing worker in the cause of our regeneration. The same advice has been emphasised by another friend of our people whom we all greatly respect but whom I miss on this platform (the Right Hon'ble Mr. Samuel Smith). Wait, we must—what else can we do? Waiting upon the will of our rulers has been our lot for the last three centuries. We shall certainly wait but not in meek submission to the will of our rulers as the decree of an inexorable fate, but with the firm resolve to overcome that fate and to work out our salvation.

ORIENTALS OF THE NEW SCHOOL.

Our rulers must recognise the new spirit, born, it may be, of the huge blunder of the partition, vibrating through our hearts, uplifting us to a higher plane of political effort. We are no longer Orientals of the old type, content to grovel under the weight of an overmastering fate, but we are Orientals of the new school, enfranchised by English culture and influences, revivified by the example of Japan, China and Persia; and as Orientals of the new school we believe that nations by themselves are made. Yes, we shall wait with patience, but it will not be the patience of inaction, but patience accompanied by a strenuous effort to undo or at any rate modify the partition of Bengal.

MR. MORLEY'S "SETTLED FACT".

Mr. Morley declines to reopen the question on the ground that partition is a settled fact. We in our turn decline to accept it as settled fact. We decline to accept a wrong—what is admittedly a wrong, a deliberate affront to the public opinion of our people—as among the verities of

life and administration. A wrong is a lie. It is opposed to the will of God and the moral order of the universe. It cannot endure. We are resolved to undo it; and aided by the unseen but irresistible forces which help every right cause, we hope to achieve success. Mr. Morely does not seek to justify the partition. He makes two significant admissions. He says that the partition went wholly and decisively against the views of the majority of the people concerned. Further, he admits that there were errors in the original plan. It is inconceivable how with these admissions he can stand where he is. A little persistent push will dislodge him from it. I admit that a statesman is not bound to be logical. But he is bound to be reasonable, he is bound to be just. He cannot override the paramount considerations of right-dealing. Righteousness exalteth a nation. Righteousness is the very breath of imperial statesmanship. The most reactionary of Indian Viceroys has told us that the British Empire in India is founded upon the eternal moralities of things. The most reactionary of Indian law-makers (the author of the Sedition Clause in the Penal Code) has told us that a single act of conscious injustice is more disastrous to British rule than a great reverse sustained upon an Asiatic battle-field. A wrong has been perpetrated. It is felt as such by the people—it is admitted as such by the rulers. Not to redress it but to perpetuate it would be a piece of grave injustice to the people and would be disastrous to the credit of British rule in India. It will do more than anything else that I knew of to shake popular confidence—the bulwark of thrones and states—in the policy and intentions of the Government. What is a Government for, if it will not redress a wrong? That is its high mission—its sacred function. Liberalism is wedded to progress. Progress involves the unsettling of the existing order of things. A Liberal Minister, who declines to redress a wrong on the ground that it is a settled fact, does violence to his political creed. What was the Government doing till lately? It was upsetting the educational policy of the Tory Government—unsettling a fact.

Mr. Morley admits that there are errors in the original plan. I take it that partition is to become a permanent institution. If so, are we to understand that they are to find an abiding place in a permanent administrative arrangement, affect-

ing the happiness of millions of our people? The position is so untenable that even the *Pioneer*, which is a pro-partition and semi-official journal, is constrained to say that in the light of this admission Mr. Morley has no option left to him but to modify the partition "No question of temporary inconvenience," says the *Pioneer*, "can be made an excuse for perpetuating errors, and the right course would be to amend the partition at once".

LARGER CONSIDERATIONS OF EXPEDIENCY.

Mr. Morley's position is thus absolutely untenable. But he tells us that his attitude is determind by the larger considerations of political expediency. What those considerations are, he has not told us. He was challenged to state them by Mr. O'Donnell, but he declined to do so. Are we then to understand that they are such as will not bear the light of publicity or the test of scrutiny? If that be so, then the public will not regard them as valid. Differing as I do from Mr Morley's view, I desire to meet him on his own ground, and I hold that the larger considerations of expediency demand the reversal or modification of partition. Is there a more important asset to a Government than the contentment of the governed? Why, Sir, in the case of a foreign Government such as ours is, it is an asset of priceless value Her gracious Majesty the late Queen Empress is my authority. In the Proclamation of the 1st. Nov., 1858, which represents the high water-mark of British statesmanship of the last generation, she declared that, in the contentment of her people, lay the strength of her Empire. The partition of Bengal has struck at the root of that popular contentment which is the greatest bulwark of the British Empire in India It has caused wide-spread dissatisfaction and has alienated the people from the Government. If the good-will of the governed be a factor for the purposes of a wise and efficient administration, the Government at least in Bengal has largely forfeited it. There can be no co-operation between the rulers and the ruled in the work of administration with this yawning gulf separating them. Let me cite a case in point. The other day a high officer of the Government, a member of the Indian Civil Service, visited Rajshaye in the new province with a view to found a Co-operative Credit Society. The aid of the local leaders was invoked. They point-blank refused to co-operate with him; the local correspondent of a Calcutta news-

paper remarking that the people have lost all confidence in the Government. Lo and behold this is one of the fruits of partition. Mr. Morely wants new facts to justify his re-opening the question. Here is fact No. 1. Let me pass on to fact No. 2. There is a class of our population who have lost all faith in the utility of constitutional agitation. They will not approach the Government with memorials or petitions. What is the good of them all—they say. Here, in the matter of the partition, we have begged and prayed and protested. But all in vain. The Government will not listen to our prayers. Self-repect demands that we should not have anything to do with a Government, so unsympathetic and so irresponsive to popular appeals. This view may be right or it may be wrong. I, for one, am a firm believer in the utility of constitutional agitation, (a voice cried out," no"). You may say 'no' to the end of your life. You will not convince me that I am in the wrong or that you are right. However that may be, there is the feeling—an utter loss of all confidence among a section of our people in the utility of constitutional agitation. Is it possible to think of a situation more grave ? But let us pass on. There is yet another new fact sufficiently serious to attract Mr. Morley's attention. In some of the Eastern districts, Hindus and Mahomedans have hitherto lived in peace and amity. Partition has caused friction and irritation which may deepen and increase.

The Attitude of the Mahomedans.

In this connection, I desire to say one word as regards the attitude of the Mahomedan community. When the partition proposal was first broached, the Mahomedan community, with one exception, was opposed to it. Since then what has happened to bring about a change in their attitude ? As a community they have got nothing beyond a few appointments in the ministerial and the subordinate executive and police services. Has the cause of Mahomedan education received a new impetus or are the interests of sanitation better looked after ? The Mahomedan community have no reason to be satisfied with the Partition ; and, as a matter of fact, they do not support it. Here are some facts which conclusively bear out this view. There were no less than 259 anti-partition meetings held on the anniversary of the partition. At 135 of these meetings Mahomedans co-operated with the Hindus in protest-

ing against the partition. The four most important anti-partition meetings where those held in Calcutta, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh. The Presidents of all these meetings were Mahomedan gentlemen of light and leading I know there were some pro-partition meetings. But they were the work of one man, aided by his Anglo-Indian friends, official and non-official. The official support of the pro-partition agitation is a scandal of the gravest magnitude. The official support of public movements deprives them of all their significance. At the pro-partition meetings held at Dacca on the 16th October, 1905, and again on the 16th October, 1906, high European officials were present. Official wirepullers organized pro-partition demonstrations at Serajgunge and Madaripore. Mr. Morley's attention has been called to this matter and in reply to a question asked in Parliament, he said that he had no doubt that the Government of the new Province would enforce the official orders on the subject. We are curious to know how far this has been done. Well, may reactionary officials interest themselves in creating a split between Hindus and Mahomedans. The rising tide of popular opinion is daily increasing in volume and power. The enthronement of popular opinion is only a question of time. Twenty-five years ago, Lord Ripon said from his place as Chancellor of the University of Calcutta that public opinion was destined even in India to become the irresistible and the unresisted master of the Government. There are those who would give worlds to bring about the indefinite postponement of this blessed consummation. We have to guard ourselves against the machinations of these intriguers who are the enemies of Hindus and Mahomedans alike. Speaking for myself as a member of the Hindu community, I desire to tell my Mahomedan fellow-countrymen that we welcome the political ferment, which is noticeable among the great Islamic community in India We rejoice at their growing aspirations. From us they may expect nothing but sympathy and co-operation ; for we recognise them as brothers linked together by an inseparable destiny. Let Hindus and Mahomedans stand side by side on a common platform—may it not be the platform of this Congress—this hallowed spot consecrated by the self-denying labours of so many distinguished and patriotic men—and by mutual effort—it may be by mutual forbearance and mutual charity—work out their common destiny.

AN APPEAL.

I know not what the fate of this agitation will be. For the present the signs are all against us. The future is enveloped in the deepest gloom. The heart of the stoutest may well quail as he sees the prospect before him. For eighteen long months have we carried on this agitation. For how much longer are we to continue it? From the depths of our hearts cries out a voice:—"Oh continue it, so long as the wrong is not righted Let the banner which you have raised float in the breeze—the emblem of your hope and your triumph; and, if perchance, the banner should drop from your sinking hands, the God of nations will raise up others in your places who will carry it aloft, and aided by the irresistible forces of Time, which make for justice and progress they will carry it to an assured, if not a speedy triumph."

To this inner voice we bow. And we are resolved God willing, to continue this agitation, through good report and through evil report. With us Partition is what Home Rule is with the Irish. For a hundred years, the Irish have fought for Home Rule. For a hundred years they have met with defeat and disappointment For a hundred years, they have again and again come back to the charge. We mean to imitate the Irish along those constitutional lines which will win for us the sympathy and support of civilised mankind, never yielding, never despairing, possessing our souls in patience, with the firm confidence that, as in the physical so in the moral world, the darkest night is often the precursor of the brightest day and holds concealed in its bosom the germs of those golden streaks which herald the advent of the new dawn.

Brother-Delegates,—I have a word of appeal to you. We want your sympathy and your support. Will it be extended to us? Say "yes or no", (the whole house shouted "yes" vociferously). I thank you for this demonstration of sympathy, and I beg of you when you go back to your homes to record in your provincial meetings and in your provincial associations your votes of protest against the cruel wrong which has been done to the people of Bengal. Let the Government know that a wrong done to one province is shared by all. The moral significance of such a demonstration, it is impossible to exaggerate. It will constitute a bulwark of strength in our national struggle. It

will invest the public opinion of a province with the potency of the national voice of all India. It will intensify the solidarity between province and province by making the participators in their mutual sorrows and anxieties. Therefore, brother-delegates, do I with all confidence appeal to you to stand by us in this, the greatest struggle in which we have been engaged since we have come under British rule; and to such an appeal made by afflicted Bengal to united India there can be but one reply, and it will be a reply which will voice forth the prevailing sentiment of this great assembly—namely, that we are all brothers, moved by common grievances, animated by common sentiments, ideals and aspirations linked together by a common destiny and that, as brothers, we are resolved to fight for each other's rights and stand by each other in the hour of their darkest misfortune.

THE BOYCOTT MOVEMENT.

THE Bengal boycott formed the subject of the second Resolution, which was as follows:—

"That having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration, and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the boycott movement, inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the Partition of that Province, was and is legitimate."

THE HON'BLE MR. AMBICA CHARAN MAZUMDAR.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar, in moving the Resolution, said that the Partition had been forcibly carried out by an unsympathetic Government, and that had forced the people of Bengal to take to boycott in retaliation. The unfortunate policy which dictated the Partition of Bengal, and which still influenced its operation, had undone the labours of a hundred years. The mighty builders of this vast Empire sought

to lay its foundation broad-based upon the affections of the people, and, in doing so, they had wisely laid down what might be called the principle of a neutrality in the administration of the country as between the diverse nations inhabiting it. The Partition had set back the hands of progress on the clock of time and had reversed that policy. Referring to the enforced retirement of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the speaker said that Mr. Morley was entitled to their sincere congratulation. Mr. Morley, it was true, had not gone far enough to find out the root cause of the present state of feeling in Bengal; but it must be admitted that he had gone far beyond any other statesmen would have done in similar circumstances. The attempt on the part of the authorities to alienate Mahomedans from the Swadeshi movement having practically failed, another attempt was made to discredit the movement. The cry was raised that there was a split in the Congress Camp. It was, perhaps, the wish that was father to the thought. It was at a conference at Burdwan, in 1904, that the first note was sounded against what was known as the "mendicant policy," and then the Swadeshi movement was organised. The Extreme party was against the mendicant policy. They were supposed to be a danger to the State, but this he absolutely denied. Theirs was an attitude of despair and disappointment. They were perfectly at one with the Moderates in condemning the Partition. They were perfectly with them in resolutely trying to keep up the boycott. The Extreme party, however, had got sick of constitutional agitation and would have none of it. He did not know where to stand. To agitate was to become obnoxious; to be silent was to become dangerous; that was a position too grim to be humourous. He absolutely denied that there were any unhealthy ideas attached to the new party. If there were any, the responsibility for it rested upon the shoulders of the Government, which had openly flouted and ridden rough-shod over the opinion of the people. He considered the right of petition to be the highest privilege of a free nation. This right which the people could claim had been clung to with faith by them. It was a right for which Milton wrote and Hampden died, and for which many people in Germany and Russia were struggling. The unfortunate people of Bengal, who had been subjected to a cruel wrong, would continue the boycott until success was achieved.

BABU BEPIN CHANDRA PAL.

Babu Bepin Chandra Pal seconded the motion. He said:—You will have observed the word "boycott" is attached to the word "movement". The word "boycott" is left severely alone, and the only qualification which the authors of this Resolution have attached to the word "boycott" is that it shall move from point to point, move from city to city, move from division to division, move, I hope you will allow me to add, from Province to Province. (Cheers and Hear, hear from Mr. Pal's followers.) And the omission of any other qualifying expression in regard to this term is significant. It is not, you will observe, a mere boycott of goods. It is boycott of something else. Do not be afraid! We have done that something in that part of Bengal which I have the honour in my humble way to represent. We in Eastern Bengal and Assam have not only tried to boycott, so far as it has lain in our power, British goods; but all honorary offices and association with the Government. You will not find one single man among the real leaders of the people in Eastern Bengal associated with the new Lieutenant-Governor in his legislative work. (Cheers from Mr. Pal's party.) You will see that the omission of British goods in relation to boycott was intentional. As a statement of fact it was necessary, because in Bengal we have not only tried to boycott British goods, but also, so far as it may be a convenient phrase, all honorary association with the Government also. That is the meaning of boycott which will move from point to point until God knows where. I originally opposed the introduction of the term "boycott" in our politics and political life, but in the course of a few days we found that whatever objections might be taken to the word, the thing was exceedingly useful not only economically but politically as well. (Applause). You know what in Bengal, and especially in Eastern Bengal, our people have been able to do by means of boycott. I will tell you a secret. We in Eastern Bengal believe it, and we have evidence of it, that the enforced retirement of Sir Bampfylde Fuller was due to this boycott. (Cheers). Lord Minto himself suggested it in his last letter to Sir Bampfylde Fuller, that an organised attempt was made in Eastern Bengal to make the administration impossible (cheers) and had the repressive measures inauguarted by Government

continued in operation in Eastern Bengal we know that the administration that was then becoming impossible would have become impossible by now. We are thankful that Sir Bampfylde Fuller is gone. We are thankful for the respite; but if Sir Bampfylde Fuller is gone, our boycott has come to remain, and it will remain until every grievance that we have and until every right that we want and until every liberty will be given us, until, in one word, we realise the highest destiny of our people as a nation in the comity of nations (Hear, hear and prolonged cheers from the pro-Pal party again.)**** (The President's gong was sounded,amid cries of "Go on, go on" from pro-Palers.) No, I will not. I must obey the Chair, but I will finish Now can you help us in this matter? We have helped ourselves in the way in which effective help could be rendered in this matter. I ask you in the name of God, in the name of your nation, in the name of the future emancipation and realisation of the highest destinies of your people, to lend your support to this movement now, and when you go back to your Province, there, so that, as I have said, this thing may proceed from point to point, from city to city, until the whole of India is ablaze, not with the fire that ruins and kills, but with the fire that brings plenty, patriotism and progress. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

THE HON'BLE L. A. GOVINDARAGHAVA IYER.

The Hon'ble L. A. Govindraghava Iyer said:—I am sure, gentlemen, that you would like to hear what a Madrasi has to say upon this Resolution. We recognise in all its fullness the depth of fervour with which you view this Resolution. You may depend upon it that to the extent it lies in the power of Madras, Madras will ever be anxious and willing to help you in all efforts that you might make for the purpose of bringing to the notice of the authorities any grievance that you think you have, provided the methods that you adopt commend themselves as reasonable to Madras, and I may say to every other Province as well. I, therefore, propose speaking to you a few words upon this Resolution. It is not by way of protest against what has been hitherto said, but it is for the puropose of making the postion of the people of other Provinces than Bengal, particularly of

Madras, apparent to you, so that it may be possible for you to estimate how far you can expect the sympathy and support of other Provinces in the political struggles that you carry on. I may say, gentlemen, that common fairness requires that you should to some extent tolerate difference of opinion, even though it may happen that you, in the anxiety you have for the achievement of the ends in view, may be certain everybody sympathises with you. You may not see eye to eye with those others who fortunately are in less troubled circumstances, and are, if you will allow me to say so, in a better position to understand the exact requirements of the situation. Gentlemen, we recognise that boycott is a very important weapon (hear, hear) and just because it is a very important weapon, all caution, all care, has to be bestowed as to how you use that weapon. You have to recognise that it is a very dangerous weapon, and if the same spirit that we want towards others whom we desire to boycott is reciprocated by them, you may depend upon it that our existence itself will be impossible. (Cries of "Yes, yes"; "No no"; "Nonsense.") Gentlemen, I simply ask for a hearing. I do not ask for your assent. I do not suppose that it is impossible to have differences of opinion. I do not say I must be considered to be right, but as one of the delegates, exercising the same privileges as you, I am entitled to the same right that you have. When we ask that we should be given the same rights as our fellow-subjects in other parts of the world are entitled to and are being given, it is but fair and proper that you should at least give me a hearing. (Hear, hear.) I am not asking you to accept what I say. I shall be content if I am simply allowed to be heard. Now, gentlemen, what we say is this. We recognise the importance, and at the same time the danger, of this weapon. We, therefore, think that we must be as sparing as possible in the use of it. Madras thinks that while the necessities of Bengal do require this weapon, such a necessity has not arisen elsewhere. Therefore, while Madras is prepared to extend to you the right hand of sympathy and fellowship, I may say that Madras, a large part of it, will decline to accept it as a settled fact in its own Province in the way it is understood I do not speak of it as an industrial measure. I speak of it as a political weapon, and to the extent that the observation of the learned seconder of the proposition goes to convey the meaning that there is a hope

entertained by the authors of this Resolution, or by those who are to accept it, that this view will be accepted by those who come from other Provinces, to that extent. I beg, I may say on behalf of Madras, to dissociate myself from the observations of Mr. Pal. (Cries of "No, no, Not all" from Madras delegates.) Those of you who were in the Subjects Committee last night must have recognised that even in Madras there is a difference of opinion (Voices "There is".) But he will be a bold man who will contradict me when I say that the general body of opinion in Madras is decidedly in favour of the view that I put forward. Gentlemen, I simply say that what we mean by this Resolution is, as I understand it, that it is exactly the same thing as was done at last year's Congress in Benares. There the Resolution was adopted unanimously. This is the same idea that is sought to be conveyed by this Resolution, only adapting the language to the requirements of the situation, to the change in the circumstances of the case. I, therefore, submit that if we support this Resolution—it is just possible that there may be some of us that may not do so—it is because we do recognise that in the necessity of the condition of Bengal boycott is a political weapon, but we think that it is in extreme cases that it can be so used, and it is not, therefore, a weapon which can be recommended for ordinary use by other Provinces as well. I, therefore, think that it cannot be considered that the expression "boycott movement" means that it is a thing which is to move from Province to Province. It simply means that the efforts you have made in Bengal for the purpose of boycotting British goods are efforts made from a political point of view. We sympathise with you; we are prepared to accept that in acting as you have done you have acted rightly. If it means anything more, so far as I am concerned, I may say so far as the large body of the public opinion in Madras is concerned, they cannot sympathise with you. (A few cries of "No, no" from Madras delegates.)

THE HON'BLE MR. A. CHOWDHURY.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chowdhury (Bengal) said:—Having regard to what we have heard from the last speaker, I think it my duty to tell you what some of us feel in the matter. We in Bengal are smarting under a great injury. We have used the boycott as a political weapon and we shall continue to

proclaim that we have been right in having the boycott movement among us; but this Resolution you will find is strictly limited to Bengal, but we all hope, we all believe, that if circumstances should arise in different Provinces, such circumstances as have compelled us to adopt the boycott, that the other Provinces will follow us. We do not say that, so far as the other Provinces are concerned, we hold out to you an example. We are only asking you for your sympathy. We are only asking you to say that we were right in inaugurating the boycott movement in Bengal. (Hear, hear.) There the Resolution begins and there it ends. There has been considerable warmth of feeling in regard to this matter, and it has been our earnest endeavour to get all sections of the people from different Provinces to come forward and stand shoulder to shoulder, so that we may go on with the work of the Congress smoothly.

PUNDIT MADUN MOHUN MALAVYA.

Pundit Madun Mohun Malavya said :—The Resolution requires to be clearly understood. The Congress in adopting any Resolution takes care that its meaning shall not be liable to misinterpretation and to express itself in clear language, so that all may know what it says and what it does not say. The Congress does express its approval of the adopting of boycott in Bengal under the peculiar circumstances in which Bengal was placed. * * * * Speaking on behalf of a large number of delegates from different Provinces, I declare emphatically that the Congress does not associate itself with the remarks of Mr. Pal. (Cries of "Yes, yes," and "No, no", and "Why not?" and great disorder prevailed.) I again repeat it on behalf of a larger number of the delegates of the United Provinces (cries of "All, all," "Thanks") —and on behalf of a large number of delegates from other Provinces (Cries of "No, no" and "Yes, yes". If it comes to a division—and I am prepared for a division—my words will be proved to be literally true. (Hear, hear.) * * * * * * I say a large number of delegates wish to dissociate themselves from the remarks of Mr. Pal, that this boycott is not confined to British goods only, but also extends to honorary offices and goes beyond. Gentlemen, it is easy for people who have taken that resolution to talk like that, but the country, as

a whole, will repudiate that sentiment. (Cries of "No, no" and "Yes, yes".) And now let it be clearly understood that in this Congress there is a large body of delegates who do not approve of any such boycott as Mr Pal has put forward. (Cries of "No no" and "Yes, yes".) While we again clearly express our view that, under the circumstances in which Bengal was placed, the boycott was and is legitimate, we do not go further, and we hope that the time will never arrive when other Provinces will be driven to the necessity of adopting boycott. (Cheers.) I hope that better days are in store for us and that our Rulers will listen to the reasonable prayers that are submitted to them in a reasonable spirit, and I hope and firmly believe that, by means of these reasonable representations, we shall get all the reforms that we hope for and we shall succeed in our efforts. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale said :—We who are assembled in this Congress are bound only by the Resolutions that we pass. Individual interpretations of individual Resolutions are matters which concern individuals only. (Hear, hear.) Every individual is entitled to put his own interpretation upon a Resolution. This is a matter of English. The Resolution put before you means that the boycott movement that has been introduced to mark the resentment of the people against the Partition of Bengal was and is in the opinion of the people of India, legitimate. To this extent we all agree and up to this point we all go together. If beyond this any of you want to go, go by all means ; but do not go in the name of the Congress. You go forward as individuals You have every right to do that. We do not question that; but do not drag the rest who do not want to go with you. (Cheers) Let us be fair We are bound by the Resolutions of the Congress and not by the speeches of the individual.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and declared carried, Mr. P. R. Sundara Iyer (Madras) voting against it, and the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma (Madras) declining to vote either way.

APPENDIX—C.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE CONGRESS & CONFERENCES.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

1. "That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of the great loss which the Congress and the country at large have sustained by the death of Mr. W. C Bonnerjee, Mr. Justice Buddruddin Tyabji, Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose, ex-Presidents of the Congress and Mr. Veeraraghava Chariar of Madras, that their great public services and the example of duty and of self-sacrificing devotion which they presented in their lives entitle them to the lasting gratitude of the country; and that copies of the Resolution be forwarded to their families over the signature of the President."

2. This Congress while noting with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in disallowing for the present the proposed Ordinance against British Indians in the Transvaal desires to give expression to its apprehension that unless the Imperial Government continues to extend its firm protection to the British Indian community, the policy of the Ordinance is almost certain to be enforced as soon as arrangements under the constitution recently granted are completed. This Congress also places on record its sense of deep regret and indignation that the people of this country should be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's colonies and the Congress expresses its firm conviction that such a policy is fraught with serious danger to the best interests of the empire."

3. This Congress renews its protest against the excessive and alarming growth of the Military charges in recent years and their undue preponderance in the Public Expenditure of the country. This Congress is of opinion that as the Military expenditure of the country is determined not by its own Military needs and requirements, but by exigencies of British Policy in the East, it is only fair that a reasonable share of such expenditure should be borne by the British exchequer. This Congress stongly urges that by a substantial reduction of the Military Expenditure and by a steady substitution of Indian for European agency in the Public Service funds should be set free to be devoted to the promotion of education in all its branches, to improved sanitation and to relief of the ryot's burdens such as a further reduction of the Land Revenue and of State measures for dealing with Agricultural indebtedness".

4. That in the opinion of this Congress, the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, which is admittedly necessary in the interests of good Government and sound Judicial administration, should no longer be deferred."

5. "Resolved, having regard to the general opinion amongst the Mohamedans that recent decisions of the Privy Council against the validity of Wakf-I-Ala-Aulad are against Mohamedan Law, this Congress is of opinion that a Commission should be appointed by Government to enquire

whether the Privy Council has not erred in their decisions having regard to Law, usage and sentiments of the Mohamedan people ; and if it be found that the decisions are erroneous, this Congress urges that steps should be taken to give legal effect to the right view".

6. That this Congress again records its emphatic protest against the Partition of Bengal and regrets that the present Government, while admitting that there were errors in the original plan and that it went wholly and decisively against the wishes of the majority of the people of Bengal, is disposed to look upon it as a settled fact, in spite of the earnest and persistent protest of the people and their manifest disinclination to accept it as final ; that this Congress composed of representatives from all the Provinces of this country and desires earnestly to impress upon the British Parliament and the present Liberal Government that it will not only be just but expedient that a Committee should be appointed to make a thorough and exhaustive enquiry into the question or to reverse or modify the Partition in such a manner as to keep the entire-Bengali-speaking community under one undivided Administration and thus to restore contentment to so important a Province as Bengal."

7. "That, having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its Administration and that their representatives to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that Province was and is legitimate."

8. The Congress repeated its protest against the policy of Government in respect of High and Secondary Education as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the Universities and restricting the spread of education. The Congress was of opinion that Government should take immediate steps for (1) making primary education free and gradually compulsory all over the country, (2) assigning larger sums of money to secondary education, special encouragement being given where necessary to the education of the backward classes, (3) making the existing Universities more free from official control and providing them with sufficient men to take up the work of teaching, (4) making adequate provision for technical education in the different provinces having regard to local requirements.

9. "That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived for people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls, and organise a system of education,—literary. scientific, and technical,—suited to the requirements of country, on national lines and under national control."

10. "This Congress accords its most cordial support to the *Swadeshi* movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour to promote its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, and encourage the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities."

11. "That this Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies should be extended to India and that, as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out, *viz.*, (*a*) that all examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England,

and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be by competitive examination only, (*b*) the adequate representation of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay, (*c*) the expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils allowing a larger and truly effective representation of the people and a larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country, (*d*) that the powers of local and municipal bodies should be extended, and that official control over them should not be more than what is exercised by the Local Government Board in England over similar bodies."

12. "That this Congress places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sudden death of Mr. Samuel Smith and the vote of condolence be communicated to his family."

13. "This Congress is of opinion that the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation on the State demand on land such as was proposed by Lord Canning in 1862, or by Lord Ripon in 1882, and it regrets that Lord Curzon in his Land Resolution in 1902, failed to recognise the necessity of any such limitation and declined to accept the suggestions of Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists in the matter; that the Congress holds that a reasonable and definite limitation of the State demand is the true remedy for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population; that this Congress respectfully protests against the view that the land revenue in India is not a tax but is in the nature of rent."

14. "That this Congress records its sense of high appreciation of the eminent public service rendered by the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., during his recent visit to England.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS.

The Hon. Mr. D. A. Khare, of Bombay, moved that the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee held on the 17th November, 1906, at Bombay be confirmed: The members present at these proceedings were:—Sir P. M. Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, the Hon. Mr. D. A. Khare, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. D. E. Wacha and the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, when the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

Provincial Congress Committees:—(*a*) The Committee recommends that each province should organise at its capital a Provincial Congress Committee in such manner as may be determined at a meeting of the provincial Conference or at a special meeting, held for the purpose, of representatives of different districts in the province. (*b*) The Provincial Congress Committee should act for the province in all Congress matters, and it should be its special care to organize district associations throughout the province for sustained and continuous political work in the province.

II.—Central Standing Committee of the Congress.—This Committee recommends that the Congress should appoint every year a Cen-

tral Standing Committee for all India to carry out the resolutions of the Congress, and to deal with urgent questions which may arise and which may require to be disposed of in the name of the Congress, and that this Committee should consist of 12 members from Bengal, Assam and Burma, eight members from Madras, eight members from Bombay, six members from the United Provinces, six members from the Punjab, six members from C. P. and Berars, the President of the year and the General Secretary being *ex-officio* members in addition.

III.—Selection of President.—In the matter of the selection of President in future years, the Committee recommends the following alternative scheme. The Provincial Congress Committee of the province in which the Congress is to be held should organize a Reception Committee in such manner as it deems proper for making arrangements for the Congress Session, and the choice of the President should in the first instance rest with the Reception Committee, if after consulting other Provincial Congress Committees, the Reception Committee is able to make the choice by a majority of at least three-fourths of its members. If, however, no such majority can be obtained to support the nomination of any person, the question should be referred to the Central Standing Committee of the Congress, and the decision of this Committee should be final.

IV.—Subjects Committee.—This Committee recommends that the Subjects Committee, appointed at each session of the Congress to settle its programme of work, should consist of 25 representatives of Bengal, Assam and Burma, 15 representatives of Madras, 15 representatives of Bombay, 10 representatives of the United Provinces, 10 representatives of the Punjab, 10 representatives of C.P. and Berars, and 10 additional representatives of the province in which the Congress is held, elected by the delegates attending the Congress from the respective provinces in such manner as they deem proper; and that the President of the year, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the year, all ex-Presidents and all ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees who may be present at the Congress, the General Secretaries of the Congress and the local Secretaries of the Congress for the year should in addition be *ex-officio* members of the Subjects Committee.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

1. This Conferance endorses the Resolutions passed at previous conferences in favour of more organized efforts for the promotion of Temperance and social purity.

2. In the view of the manifold evils resulting from early marriages, this Conference endorses the resolution passed at the Conference held last year, the marriage-age of boys and girls should be raised, respectively, to at least 18 and 12 years.

3. This Conference urges strongly the desirability of bringing about a closer communion between the different sub-divisions of each of the four main castes in Hindu Society, and recommends the fusion of these subdivision by intermarriage and interdining.

4. In view of the crying evils that prevail in Hindu Society in consequence of extortionate demands made on marriage of girls, and of extra-

vagant expenditure on marriages generally, this Conference desires to place on record its condemnation of the practice of such demand in the shape of a payment for the bride or bridegroom, and of extravagant expenditure in the shape of costly and elaborate presents and entertainment and impresses upon the Hindu community the absolute necessity of taking immediate steps to mitigate those great social evils.

5. This Conference notes with satisfaction the increasing number of Hindus, who undertake voyages to foreign countries for study, commerce and other useful purposes and desires to impress upon the Hindu community, the desirabitity of encouraging this movement by removing all social obstacles in the way of re-admission of Hindus, returning from such countries into their society.

6. This Conference notes with pleasure the advance of female education in India, and fully appreciates the efforts of the Government in this direction; so far as school-going girls are concerned and it urges upon the Hindu community, the necessity of supplementing every effort of Government in this direction, and the opening of Home classes, and arranging lectures for women.

7. This Congress notes with satisfaction, the attempts made to introduce religious and moral education in some educational institutions in the country, and suggests the movement so begun, should as far as possible be extended.

8. That this Conference considers that our domestic and social well-being demand an amelioration of the condition of child-widows, and recommends the re-marriage of such widows, according to shastric principles. It also suggests the opening of widows homes for helpless widows with a view to train them in some useful works; and it strongly condemns the practice of compulsory disfigurement of widows in some parts of India.

9. This Conference endorses the Resolutions passed at previous Conferences condemning the practice of polygamy.

III.—THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

The following are the resolutions possed at the Conference;—

That this Conference re-affirms the Resolutions passed at the Conference of last year on the subject of Technical and Commercial Education, and requests the Government to establish a sufficient number of secondary technical and commercial schools, a superior Technical College for each province and one fully equipped first-class College of Technology for the whole of India, and that a Committee, consisting of Mr. A. C. Sen, Mr. P. N. Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. G. V. Joshi, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, the Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas D. Thackersey, Mr. Sarvadhikari, Mr. R. C. Dutt, and the General Secretary be appointed to prepare a memorial on the above lines for submission to Government by the President and the General Secretary."

That this Conference conveys its thanks to the Government of India for appointing a Committee for making recommendations for the use by Government Departments of indigenous articles in preference to foreign goods, and requests that they be pleased to direct the early publication of the report of the Committee, so that the public and trades in India may

have an opportunity of considering it before final orders are passed on the subjects.

In view of the importance of having an industrial survey of India made by Government and having regard to the recommendation made by the Committee on industrial education to that effect, this Conference requests Government to institute such a survey and empowers the President and the General Secretary to submit a memorial on the subject.

That this Conference specially invites the attention of the public to the great importance of introducing the use of improved hand-looms among the weavers of India, of promoting technical education by the establishment of schools and classes, and of starting laboratories for the purpose of determining the industrial value of Indian products.

The Conference next adopted a Resolution to ask the Provincial Committees already established to take steps to promote the industries in their several Provinces, to compile useful facts and suggestions for submission to the next Industrial Conference, and to raise suitable funds for carrying on their work.

"That this Conference reappoints Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar as General Secretary and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani as Assistant Secretary, and empowers the President and the General Secretary to appoint an additional Assistant Secretary and an establishment on suitable pay, so that the Assistant Secretary may be free to visit the different Provinces and help the Provincial Committees in all matters in which they may require assistance, and this Conference allots a sum of Rs. 10,000 for meeting the expenses for the next twelve months and also for issuing a quarterly bulletin of industrial information under suitable management."

IV.—THE TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE.

The following resolutions were then put from the chair and carried unanimously:—

A Resolution expressing sympathy with the relatives of the late Mr. A. M. Bose, and Rev. Thomas Evans, and referring to the sense of loss sustained by the temperance party in India, and of appreciation of their splendid services to the movement.

RES. I.

That this Conference, consisting of Delegates of Temperance Society from all parts of India deplored the constant and continued increase in the consumption of intoxicating drinks and drugs in India. It desires to impress on the Government the urgent necessity for immediate action to check this growth of the drink habit. It is of opinion that no attempt to grapple with the problem will be successful, while the Revenue authorities retain the power to determine the number and location of licenses for the sale of intoxicants.

RES. II.

That this Conferences is strongly of opinion that if the increase in the use of alcohol in India is to be checked the children in the schools throughout the country should be definitely taught the nature and effect of the use of alcoholic liquors. It, therefore, urges on the Educational authorities, the introduction of compulsory instruction on this subject, as part of the syllabus in all primary, secondary and high schools.

RES. III.

That this Conference, whilst of opinion that the Government of India can do much to discourage drinking, yet believe that the moral sense of the community must also be alive to the evils attendant on the use of alcohol and the necessity for inculcating principles of total abstinence. It therfore appeals to the Temperance Associations and all religious and social leaders to redouble their efforts in arousing the people among whom they work to secure a more enlightened public opinion on the subject throughout India.

V.—THE DACCA MAHOMEDAN CONFERENCE.

On the conclusion of the President's speech the following resolutions (in Urdu) were considered and passed unanimously in the order mentioned:

(1) This Conference offers its thanks to Sir Bampfylde Fuller for his help in the educational progress of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal.

(2) This Conference offers its thanks to Sir J. D. LaTouche for the special consideration he has always devoted, and the aids he has given to the progress of education among Mahomedans.

(3) This Conference notes with pleasure that Mr. Theodore Morison, who has such keen sympathy with the educational questions of the Mahomedans and has always assisted in the betterment of this Conference, of which he is a former President, has been appointed a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and congratulates him on it.

(4) This Conferenee heartily thanks the Government of Eastern Bengal for its sympathetic decision in the matter of the establishment of an Islamic Hostel on the suggestion of the Provincial Conference.

(5) As the Mohsin Fund exists for the educational improvement of Mahomedans, this Conference deems it necessary to obtain detailed information in regard to its income and expenditure, and with this end in view authorises the Secretary of the Provincial Committee to respectfully request the Government for the necessary information.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE THEISTIC CONFERENCE.

—————:o:—————

1. That this Conference of Theists, from all parts of India, do place on record their sense of the great loss sustained by the Theistic movement, in the death of Mr. A M. Bose who by his great abilities, vast learning, spotless character and profound piety was a tower of strength to the Brahmo Samaj; and who, by his work and example, rendered invaluable services to the cause of religious and social reform in India and at his death leaves behind him the memory of a sweet, saintly life to be cherished, venerated by the future generations of the Brahmo Samaj as a precious legacy.

II. Resolved that this Conference do place on record their sense of loss in the death of Mr. S. P. Kelkar. of Bombay, and Babu Mohit Chandra Sen, of Calcutta, and convey their condolence to the bereaved families.

III. Resolved that a Committee consisting of Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, Mr. Justice B. L. Gupta, Mr. S. P. Sinha, Standing Counsel, Mr. S. N. Tagore, I.C.S., Pandit S. N. Shastri, Prof. B. N. Sen, Mr. P. K. Sen, Prof. Ruchiram, Babu Nirmal Chandra Sen, Prof. Venkataratnam Naidu and Babu S. R. Das, Bar.-at-Law as Secretary, be appointed with power to add to their number, to consider the question of amending the Marriage Act III of 1872 and report to the Standing Committee of the Theistic Conference within six months.

IV. Resolved that a memorial be sent to the Government of India, over the signature of the President of the Theistic Conference, to the effect that the 11th of Magh, the foundation-date of the Brahmo Samaj in India, be made a Gazetted Holiday.

V. That this Conference, representing all the Brahmo and Prarthana Samajes in India, records its sense of deep sorrow at the sudden and almost tragic death of the right Hon'ble Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P., who came out to India on the noble mission of furthering the cause of Temperance in India, in which the Theistic Church is so deeply interested.

Also that a letter of condolence, signed by the President of the Conference, be sent to the family of Mr. Smith in England.

VI. Resolved that this Conference of all the Brahmo and Prarthana Samajes in India offer its cordial greetings to the B. and F. Unitarian Association, the American Unitarian Association and the International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers in the world.

VII. That this Conference deems it imperatively necessary that vigorous efforts be made by all the Brahmo and Prarthana Samajes to check the spread of drink in India.

VIII. That this Conference deems it desirable that the Theistic Conference should have some constitution, and that attempts be made to raise funds for the Conference.

And also that the following gentlemen be requested to constitute the Standing Committee to make arrangements for the next Conference to be held at Nagpore, at the end of December 1907, and be authorised to draw up a simple draft constitution to be approved by the next Conference

Rev Pramathalal Sen, Secretary, Prof Waswani, Babu Hemchandra Sarkar Babu Madhusudan Sen, Prakashachandra Roy Prof Ruchi Ram Shani Mr V Govindan, Dr D Ghose Babu Mahendra Nath Sarkar, Dr V Roy and Mr V R Shinde, Secretary

IX That the question of starting a Theological College be referred to a Committee consisting of the following gentleman representing the Brahmo and Prarthana Samajes in India

Dr. P K Roy, Pandit Gour Govind Roy, Prof Benoyendra Nath Sen, Prof Waswani, Babu Satyendro Nath Tagore, Pandit Shivnath Shastri, Prof Herambchandra Mitra, Pandit Sita Nath Dutta, Babu Hemchandra Sarkar, Babu Promotha Lal Sen, Principal Brajandra Nath Sen, Babu Ramanand Catterji, Babu Umeschandra Dutta, Prof Ruchir Ram, Mr Pribdas Advani, Hyderabad (Sind), Mr. Lalshankar Umiashankar, (Ahmedabad), Mr Justice Chandavarkar, Dr R G. Bhandarkar, Mr V. R Shinde, Mr V Govindan, Prof Venkataratnam Naidu

Prof Benoyendra Nath Sen, Secretary, Babu Hemchandra Sarkar, Assistant Secretary

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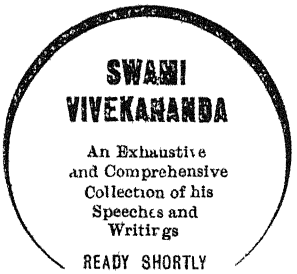
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